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WHAT CAN DISABLED ACADEMICS' CAREER EXPERIENCES OFFER TO STUDIES OF ORGANIZATION?

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of the requirements of the
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Abstract

Whilst there have been calls to theorize and explore how disability and ableism are constructed through organizing processes as a contribution to the critique of knowledge construction in organization studies (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Mumby, 2008), to date such calls have not been developed.

Drawing upon the disability studies literature, a disability studies informed theoretical lens is developed and fused with the epistemological project in organization studies to answer the research question “What can disabled academics’ career experiences offer to studies of organization?”

The theoretical potential of a disability studies lens is developed through a narrative inquiry with eight disabled academics. To interpret disabled academics’ narrative accounts the voice-centred relational method (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998), genealogical snapshot (Carabine, 2001) and voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005; 2007) were fused. This enabled an approach to interpreting how disabled academics both construct through narrative and are constructed through discourse to explore their career experiences.

Through a fusion of the disability studies lens and disability studies, boundaryless and academic career literatures, in-depth interpretations are offered which identify new insights into, and surface some of the discourses contributing to, the career boundaries disabled academics experience. This focus contributes to the boundaryless and academic career literatures by extending research to participants whose experiences are under-researched and under-theorized. The thesis offers insights into the different career boundaries disabled academics experience to those currently identified within the boundaryless and academic career literatures.

The importance of, and negating responses to, disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing are argued to contribute to the career boundaries disabled academics experience. Ableism is argued to inform some of the discourses theorized, contributing to the perception of disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing as negated differences outside of normative expectations.

The UK Higher Education context is complex. The career boundaries and discourses informing perceptions of disabled academics’ organizing requirements are argued to contribute to a hyper-complex organizing context. Within this hyper-complex context, disabled academics, and those they relate with, must negotiate to organize academic careers.

This thesis offers a disability studies lens to organization studies as a productive theoretical lens through which disability and ableism are theorized and identified as productive categories for analysis, and as contributions to, studies of organization.

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List of abbreviations

DDA	Disability Discrimination Act
DPM	Disabled people's movement
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
HE	Higher education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
NBS	Newcastle Business School
OS	Organization Studies
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
SENDA	Special Educational Needs and Disability Act
UPIAS	Union of the Physically Impaired against Segregation
UK	United Kingdom
VCRM	Voice-centre relational method
WLM	Workload model

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Authors Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

Chapter One – Introduction

1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research process which led to the development and focus of this thesis, and how the research has been conducted to answer the research question:

- *What can disabled academics' experiences of career offer to studies of organization?*

My choice of this topic is inextricably connected to both my past personal and professional experiences of disability and current experiences of becoming a disabled researcher. I therefore introduce myself and my social context to the reader before outlining the subsequent theoretical rationale for this narrative inquiry study of disabled academics' career experiences. I do this by offering some insights into the personal and professional experiences which contributed to my interest in the development of this topic to establish the starting point of the research journey which produced this thesis.

This is followed by an outline of the literature which will be drawn upon in the study of disabled academics' career experiences, the research parameters and a brief overview of the methodological orientation of the thesis. A summary of this and each subsequent chapter to orientate the reader to the structure of the thesis and a broad overview of each chapter contents is provided.

1.1 Personal and professional experiences of impairment and disability

I am a white forty something year old disabled woman who has lived and worked predominantly in the North East of England. I have worked in a range of sectors and organizations including private businesses, banking, voluntary sector, and public sector organizations including further and higher education. As I began to write up this research I acknowledged that early familial and personal experiences of impairment and professional experiences within the UK HE employment contributed to my interest in developing this thesis.

As a child I was aware that members of my immediate family had both visible and invisible impairments, so living amongst my family impairment was a normal aspect of our lives. As a teenager in my first job I realised I, like my grandmother, had a hearing loss and tinnitus, and subsequently I have acquired other impairments.

As a disabled student I studied for an undergraduate degree in a university without a dedicated support service for disabled students, which contributed to my decision to work in HE disabled student support. After graduating I undertook work in the UK voluntary sector with young D/deaf¹ people, before returning to HE as a disability adviser to develop support services, initially for D/deaf then disabled students. I later moved into human resources as an advisor for disabled staff and then as a diversity manager. In total I worked for three universities for just over eight years.

Of my professional experiences, three particular experiences stood out for me and contributed to my interest in researching disabled academics' experiences, the latter two emerging as this research progressed. My first university experience was a conversation with an academic with a hearing loss who was advising me on establishing services for D/deaf students. During a conversation she² told me she thought her career would be over as she would no longer be able to teach due to deteriorating hearing. I was struck by this in the context of her involvement in developing more inclusive organizing practices for D/deaf students in that she didn't consider the work we were doing as applicable to her own career context. The second conversation was with an academic with whom I was negotiating a support plan for a student with myalgic encephalomyelitis (ME). Towards the end of drawn out negotiations with this academic on behalf of her department, as we talked of the access arrangements we had agreed, the academic reflected and commented that whilst we were making significant changes to the delivery of the academic course, emphasizing the removal of organizational barriers to participation, we wouldn't be able to address the pain the student experienced. At the time this comment left me with a sense of disquiet. It resonated with my own experiences of impairment yet did not sit comfortably with the barrier removal, social model influenced approach I had adopted in developing services for D/deaf and disabled students. Around that time I began to feel a difficult dissonance between my personal orientation and commitment to the social model and my personal and professional experiences.

¹ D/deaf is used to indicate a recognition that capitalized Deaf refers to people who "view their deafness...as a symbol of their social, cultural and linguistic identity...deaf is...used as a generic term without implying or assigning any particular status to any individual or group of people" who experience some form of deafness (Barnes et al, 2007:17).

² For the purposes of consistency, the female pronoun is used throughout the thesis, except when referring to specific authors whose language use is replicated, or when referring to participants.

The third experience was when requesting a small amount of assistive technology³ for a new role in a second university disability support team. My manager indicated that my requests were problematic as there wasn't a budget for assistive technology for staff, and that I would have to wait to see what could be done, indicating that it was unlikely I would receive the equipment. I felt a further dissonance between the work we purported to do in challenging non-inclusive learning environments for disabled students, and the individualized response I received from this manager, the same person working strategically across this university to develop inclusive practices. Over time, and into the development of this thesis, I became cognizant of my discomfort over the exclusion of impairment within my practice, and an appreciation that there were alternative and dominant discourses operating within the universities I worked for, which maintained an individualized understanding of disability.

My interest in researching disability was particularly influenced through the literatures I encountered during my Human Resources Diploma Postgraduate programme. A functionalist paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) dominated teaching, and disability was marginalized to discussions of equal opportunities or diversity, where it was further marginalized to a legislative compliance, business benefits or disability management emphasis. The mainstream organization studies literatures appeared to lack an understanding of disabled people as knowledge producers or of experiences of disability as a potential source of insight. The omission of disability as relevant for knowledge production within organization studies emerged as a central concern of this thesis explored through disabled academics' career and organizational experiences (career experiences). This was not the initial focus of the thesis, which set out to explore disabled academics' organizational socialization experiences, a move which is reflexively reviewed in Chapter Seven.

1.2 Disability and organization studies

Whilst studies of organization has a longer history (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980; Scott, 2004a; Starbuck, 2003), Shenhav (2003) suggests that organization studies as an academic field emerged in the 1950s, primarily within the North American context. A primary concern of the field was for the management and improved efficiency and effectiveness of organizations (Üsdiken and Leblebici, 2001).

³ Here and throughout the thesis I use assistive technology to refer to any equipment used by disabled people to provide an accessible environment. This differs from the literature on assistive technology. I do as part of my anonymity strategy discussed in Chapter Four.

Within the United Kingdom (UK) and United States (US), the field has since developed through a range of meta-theoretical and theoretical interests to become characterized as rhizomatic (Jackson and Carter, 2007); complex and divergent, with scientific approaches adopting natural sciences as guiding principles more strongly associated with North America, and subjectivist approaches associated with Europe and particularly the UK (Üsdiken and Leblebici, 2001). Clegg and Hardy (1996) summarize the field as one of conversations between differing perspectives, characterized by different understanding of 'organization'; "*organizations* as empirical objects, *organization* as theoretical discourse, and *organizing* as social processes", reflecting the different meta-theoretical approaches within the field (Clegg and Hardy, 1996:3).

A more recent aspect of this diverse field is a theoretical interest in researching the "practices that constitute and organize" what is studied (Marsden and Townley, 1996:659), and what, and how, knowledge is produced (Calás and Smircich, 1999; Ferguson, 1994; Willmott, 1995) as a contribution to organization studies. The broadening out of meta-theoretical approaches (Tsoukas and Knudsen, 2003) and the development of an epistemologically centred focus (or project) to the field is argued to have allowed "different theoretical 'voices' to emerge" and enabled organization studies theorists to write from the margins of the field and of organizations (Calás and Smircich, 1999:650). This surfaces and centres categories of social relations (gender and race for example), which mark perceived differences as "social doing[s]" (West and Zimmerman, 2009:114), central to organizing yet under-theorized and under-researched in the field. This reflects an understanding of organization as organizing; a verb, something "people *do*" and "a *process*, and ongoing set of interactions...emergent rather than established" (Ferguson, 1994:83 emphasis in original).

Ferguson (1994) suggests a concern for the construction and maintenance of social categories such as gender and race in organizational studies and the experiences of people thus categorized require a focus upon members voices and their perspectives to consider how social distinctions such as social categories of gender and race are discursively maintained through organizing processes and practices. This draws attention to how actions are legitimated (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004) in ways which reflect normative assumptions privileging social locations such as "male/masculine, white/western and bourgeois/managerial" (Ferguson, 1994:89).

The epistemological project in organization studies therefore seeks to bring to the fore and explore those people whose organizing requirements may be negated through organizing processes (Calás and Smircich, 2006), for example, by drawing upon other disciplines or fields, or wider social and political theories to develop such insights (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994).

However, the review of organization studies literature for this thesis highlighted a theoretical absence on disabled people as knowledge producers in the theoretical development or epistemological critique of organization studies, or as members of a hierarchically ordered (de Beauvoir, 1972) category of social relations in the theorization of organizing.

Harlan and Robert (1998) argue that a range of literature on organizations and work is only tangentially connected in the study of disability, disabled people and the disability studies field. Addressing this gap requires 'disturbing' organizations, rejecting the assumption of the neutral organization, arguing organizations should be appreciated as value laden, as ableness (non-disability) normative assumptions contribute to constructing work organizations (Harlan and Robert, 1998) through organizing processes and practices. This view reiterates a concern for the development of disability in organization studies as a productive category to develop theory (Hearn and Parkin, 1993), by integrating "disability into theories of the...interpretation of organizations" (Harlan and Robert, 1998:428) alongside an exploration of how organizing processes are established by and around the norms of those constructed as "able-bodied" (Hearn and Parkin, 1993:158). That is, considering how assumptions of non-disability infuse organizing processes and are maintained as an organizing norm, whilst organizing is presumed to be neutral, can make a contribution to organization studies (Mumby, 2008).

This thesis aims to contribute to this identified gap in organization studies by developing and explicating a theoretical lens which centres disabled people as knowledge producers, has a concern for how ableism (normative assumptions of non-disability) is maintained as an organizing norm and the implications of this for disabled academics' career experiences. Before outlining how a disability theoretical lens will be developed, consideration is given to disabled people and work to indicate why career is the chosen field of study within organization studies through which the theoretical lens will be developed. That is, to develop the theoretical lens and highlight the insights which can be generated through its application to career studies.

1.2.1 Disabled people and disabled academics place in employment

The available statistics and literature on disabled people's and disabled academic employment suggest disabled people and disabled academics are numerically marginalized in employment, HE employment and academic roles as well as the marginalization suggested in organization studies through the limited theorization of disability and ableism (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993).

The 2007 Disability Rights Commission (DRC) briefing (DRC, 2007) indicates one fifth (20%) of the national population of people of working age are disabled, 55% of whom are in employment, compared with 84% of the national non-disabled working age population. Disabled people of working age are highlighted as a growing population; having grown over 14% between 1998-2005 against a non-disabled working age population growth of 0.6%. Disabled people are recognized to be more likely to achieve low status and manual work and are underrepresented in management and professional employment (Barnes and Mercer, 2005; DRC, 2007). Key data are outlined in Table 1.1

Populations	Disabled people	Non disabled people
UK working age population	6.9 million	28.7 million
UK employed working age people	3.8 million	24.2 million
Population growth between 1998-2005	14%	0.6%
Percentage employment rate	55%	84%
Disabled/non-disabled people in managerial and senior occupations	13.7%	15.5 %
Disabled/non-disabled people in professional occupations	10.9%	13.5%

Table 1. 1 Employment data on disabled and non-disabled people in the UK

(source: DRC, 2007)

An Association of University Teachers report (AUT, 2001) indicated only 0.9% of academic staff were known to be disabled, and a concern amongst staff, especially junior and non-permanent staff, over declaring disability (see also Abbott et al., 2005). More recently, Lucas (2008) highlights Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) sector wide data showing 2.34% disabled staff, of which 2.1% are disabled academic staff (Williams, 2006), against British Labour Force Survey 2004 data where the figure is 9% (Lucas, 2008). These discrepancies in declaration rates may suggest disabled academics selectively declare themselves as disabled. The data outlined is summarized in Table 1.2 below.

Populations	Percentage of HE workforce who are disabled
Disabled staff working in HE within the 2004 British Labour Force Survey (Lucas, 2008)	9%
Disabled staff working in HE within HESA data set 2004/5 (Lucas, 2008)	2.34%
Disabled academics working in HE within HESA data set 2003/4 (Williams, 2006)	2.1%

Table 1. 2 Disabled people employed in HE

This data provides a numerical indication of disabled academics' marginal place in UK HE employment, by indicating the low number of disabled academics, or at least those declaring disability. This, together with the limited theorization of disability and ableism in organization studies, and my experiences of HE outlined above, highlights the career experiences of disabled academics may warrant further research and theorization.

1.2.2 Career studies and disability

Career studies has a long history in the study of organizations (Barley, 1989), and has recently experienced growing interest within European organization studies, partly reflecting the development of new career concepts such as the boundaryless career (Mayrhofer et al., 2004). The boundaryless career concept differs from traditional career concepts and theories in recognizing that careers extend beyond individual organizations' "career arrangements" (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996:6) and therefore the boundaries of any one organization (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1996). The boundaryless career is of interest to this thesis as Baruch and Hall (2004b) argue that aspects of academic careers have a strong fit with the boundaryless career and thus can offer insights to the development of the boundaryless career concept. However, within both boundaryless and academic career literatures there is an empirical and theoretical gap on disability, ableism, and disabled academics' career experiences.

This is despite repeated calls for career theory to become more inclusive, and reflect different social groups' experiences or different national contexts for example (Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Marshall, 1989; Mavin, 2001; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Sullivan, 1999). Pringle and Mallon (2003) specifically argue that for career theory to develop there must be engagement with those whose voices have hitherto been unheard or under theorized, as the career experiences of those people argued to be marginalized within their organizing contexts are recognized to offer insights into organizational and workplace experiences (Prasad et al., 2007).

However, whilst social class, gender and race are classic social categories explored within career research (Mayrhofer et al., 2007), at a theoretical level disability is largely absent.

A small number of career studies or studies engaging with career experiences specifically address the career experiences of disabled people (Fabian et al., 2009; Noonan et al., 2004; Salomone and O'Connell, 1998; Shah, 2005; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008), and identify some of the career barriers encountered. However no study has focused upon disabled academics, adopted an approach which emphasizes how organizing is achieved and the role of discourse in constructing, reproducing and maintaining organizing processes premised upon non-disability, or the work discourses do to shape disabled academics' career experiences. This thesis aims to address this gap.

Dispersed across disciplinary literatures, disabled academics have included accounts of their career experiences, or drawn upon their own experiences within disciplinary focused literature (for example Barnes, 1996; Chouinard and Crooks, 2003; French, 1998; Gibson, 1996; Gold, 2003; Guelke, 2003; Iantaffi, 1996; Oliver, 2009; Shakespeare, 2006; Tidwell, 2004; Woodcock et al., 2007). However, the literature reviewed for this thesis identified that within both the boundaryless and academic career literatures there is a lack of empirical or theoretical engagement with disabled academics' career experiences. This suggests that the development of a theoretical lens, addressing disability and ableism, to research the career experiences of disabled academics could contribute to career studies in the process of explicating its contribution to organization studies.

1.2.3 Disability studies lens for organization studies

Disability studies as an academic field emerged over the 1990s (Oliver and Barton, 2000) concerned to centre and raise the voices of disabled people in research on their experiences of disability. Disabled people's access to and remaining in work are key concerns for disabled people and within the disability studies literature (Barnes et al., 1998; Barnes and Mercer, 2003; Burchardt, 2000; Roulstone et al., 2003; UPIAS, 1976) reflecting a wider concern for disabled people's social inclusion.

This is a response to what is argued to be the dominant discourse on disability; an individualized understanding which locates disability as a consequence of impairment (biological or functional limitations), an individual problem, deficit, or tragedy (Oliver, 1983, 1990) and which emphasizes rehabilitation and normalization as the routes to social inclusion (Oliver, 1983, 1990). That is, an expectation for disabled people to operate within the social world to the ideal of non-disability (French, 2001).

It is suggested this discourse shapes expectations of social organization, which is premised upon non-disability as a normative standard against which all people are assessed (Campbell, 2009b; Hughes, 2007), and where disabled people are often found lacking whilst the social context is regarded as “unproblematic” (Swain et al., 2003:23).

Disability studies offers a social interpretation of disability, initially with an emphasis upon the social model of disability (Oliver, 1983, 1990) as an alternative, new, discourse on disability (Corker, 2000) to socially and theoretically challenge the assumption that disability is “a nonproblematic category for analytical purposes” (Oliver, 1986:6). The social model redefined disability from individual deficit to a matter of social organization, arguing for the social inclusion of disabled people, and offered significant insights into disabled people’s experiences. Theoretical and interpretive focus is upon disability as a form of social categorization which results in the social invalidation and subsequent exclusion of people with impairments (Hughes, 2002).

Disability studies has historically been concerned with disability through social reformation and an analysis focused upon disablism (a concern with how disabled people are discriminated against and oppressed). The early field was dominated by a materialist emphasis shaping a research focus upon socially created barriers to disabled people’s social participation with an economic and structural emphasis bifurcating disability from experiences of impairment (Thomas, 2007). Research has subsequently addressed experiences of impairment (Begum, 1992; Crow, 1996; French, 1993; Hughes, 2002; Morris, 1991, 1993a; 1993b; Thomas, 1999, 2001), and impairment and work (Roulstone, 1998a/b; Roulstone et al., 2003), and impairment effects (Thomas, 1999, 2004b, 2007) as appropriate concerns within the field.

Additional meta-theoretical orientations (Campbell, 2009b; Goodley, 2009b; Simmons et al., 2008) have begun to open up disability studies to research interests addressing social interaction (Simmons et al, 2008), a concern for the work discourses do in shaping disabled people’s experiences (Abberley, 2002; Corker, 1998, 1999a/b; Corker and French, 1999; Scott-Hill, 2004; Goodley, 2004), and ableism (Campbell, 2009a/b; Goodley, 2009b). Ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) draws attention to the argument that the centring of non-disability as a normative expectation contributes to disabled people’s social marginalization. Ableism positions the theoretical gaze to consider how assumptions and privileging of non-disability as a social normative standard against which disabled people are assessed are maintained (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Hughes, 2007; Overboe, 1999).

These recent interests reflect a social constructionist influenced orientation to researching disability which acknowledges that, and maintains a concern for how, disability is a “deeply social” and political matter, appreciating the importance of considering how social norms and expectations shape social contexts to meet the needs of some people exclude (Burr, 2003; 40) and negate (Overboe, 1999) the requirements of others. This emphasis acknowledges that the hierarchical marginalization of different requirements, which are positioned as excluded or negated differences within social contexts, are illuminated when such exclusions are made visible (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007; Weedon, 1997).

Theoretically, this thesis therefore aims to make a contribution to organization studies by taking forward Harlan and Robert (1998) and Hearn and Parkin’s (1993) argument that disability and ableism have the potential to be productive categories for analysis in organization studies, within a constructionist framework and drawing upon disability studies. This will enable a critical focus upon how organizing is discursively established through and around the norms of those constructed as “able-bodied” (Hearn and Parkin, 1993:158) and how this contributes to shaping disabled academics’ career and organizing experiences. Drawing upon disability studies, the thesis will develop a theoretical lens which emphasizes discourse, ableism, and impairment effects, through which a contribution to organization studies will be made. This thesis suggests this can be demonstrated through the development and fusing of a disability studies lens with the epistemological project in organization studies, and disability and career studies literatures. This thesis argues this will enable, through the study of disabled academics’ career experiences, an exploration of the potential to integrate ableism and disability “into theories of the...interpretation of organizations” (Harlan and Robert, 1998:428) and provide insights for, and make a contribution to, organization studies.

Before moving on to outline the research parameters of the thesis, a consideration of boundaries in social research and the implications of maintaining a demarcation between disabled and non-disabled people is outlined.

1.3 Boundaries in social research

The concept of boundaries as social constructs demarcating differences between and among individual, social and structural levels of social life is the focus of research across the social sciences (Lamont and Molnár, 2002), if less so across organization and management studies (Heracleous, 2004).

Reviewing social science research, Lamont and Molnár (2002:168) suggest boundaries is a key theme across disciplines in a “search for understanding the role of symbolic resources...in creating, maintaining, contesting, or even dissolving institutionalized social differences (e.g. class, gender, race, territorial inequality)”. Such processes are understood to lead to the development of symbolic and social boundaries.

Symbolic boundaries are conceptual differences through which social actors conceptualize, interpret and categorize their social world and a means through which status and resources are monopolized (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). Social boundaries are understood to be constructed when symbolic boundaries become “widely agreed upon”, reifying “patterns of social interaction” which can lead to constraining effects (Lamont and Molnár, 2002:168/9).

Gunz et al. (2007:472) similarly emphasize the constructed nature of social boundaries which can both enable and constrain careers

If work careers are patterns of movement across a social landscape formed by...complex networks...then career boundaries are the lines on that social landscape that mark discontinuities in the patterns, points at which there are constraints on these movements. Some boundaries create only minor interruptions to the flow, while others are major blockages, allowing only a very few people to pass them.

Heracleous (2004:100) suggests organization and management literatures require further inductive research into the dynamic nature of boundaries as relational processes, which includes a consideration of “what is ‘in’ and ‘out’ (or at the margins)” theoretically and within organizing practices. Such an approach could be argued to address the broad social, moral and political effects of organizing, as “participants in organizing create a degree of social order – an ordering of value – which enables them to act in relation to one another” (Hosking and Fineman, 1990:584).

1.3.1 Moving from researching disabling barriers to experiences of career boundaries

Whilst career and organization studies have a concern for boundaries, the dominant metaphor in disability studies is ‘barrier’, supporting the disability studies/social model focus upon socially imposed restrictions (Thomas, 2007), which in some ways can be understood as reflecting an overly structural emphasis in disability studies.

Shakespeare (2006:44) highlights the problematic nature of a barriers focus in social model influenced disability studies research and its adoption across “other socio-contextual approaches to disability” suggesting that the focus may draw attention to “obvious and unnecessary barriers” which may be removed, for example in the physical environment, yet a range of “more stubborn and complex exclusions” will remain. Shakespeare’s (2006) critique reflects his broader critique of the social model bifurcation of disability and impairment and his concern that social model influenced research emphasizes a search for, yet the un-achievability of, a barrier-free utopia; illuminating the problematic nature of the term barrier.

The Oxford English Dictionary (Pearsall, 2001:111) identifies barrier as a noun “a fence or other obstacle that prevents movement or access”. The orientation of this thesis requires a perspective which shifts the emphasis from only considering socially imposed barriers to include an appreciation of how disabled people strategize and negotiate social contexts and which moves towards a processual and emergent understanding of the social world. This reflects Heracleous’ (2004:99) argument that “what we recognize as ‘objective’ boundaries can be seen as social structures that are in the final analysis and in a fundamental way produced by, based on, and legitimated by ongoing social processes at the action level of analysis” (Heracleous, 2004:99).

This thesis aims to explore disabled academics’ career experiences, drawing upon the concept of boundaries rather than barriers. This is achieved by engaging with the epistemological project in organization studies which critiques the boundaries within organization studies shaping what is, and is not, researched (Calás and Smircich, 1999; Ferguson, 1994). The concept of boundaries connects the disability studies literature which informs the disability studies lens for this thesis to the concept of the boundaryless career (Arthur, 1994). The boundaryless career has maintained a place in understanding contemporary career experiences and within career theory (Arthur et al., 2005; Ituma and Simpson, 2009) and as a relevant framework through which career boundaries (Gunz et al, 2007) as relational processes (Heracleous, 2004) and academic career experiences can be interpreted (Baruch and Hall, 2004a/b).

1.3.2 Problematizing boundaries - constructing difference and categories of social relations

In taking forward a concern for boundaries, it is necessary briefly to consider the problematization of theorizing boundaries and categories of social relations. I will draw upon gender as an established category of social relations within the organization studies literature to explore this problematization as there are current and well developed debates on this issue across this literature.

The construction of social symbolic boundaries of differences to understand relationships amongst social groups (Lamont and Molnár, 2002:167) is usually considered within in a binary relation or binary frame (Butler, 1999:xxxi) for example in relation to gender; male/female, masculinity/femininity. The construction of gender and other categories of social relations is argued to construct distinctions and differences between people which are not “natural, normal, or essential to the incumbents in question”, but “social doing[s], a mechanism for organizing” (West and Zimmerman, 2009:114), (re)produced through discourse (Butler, 1999), as “differences that make a difference” through the symbolism which contributes to the construction of social relations (Mumby and Clair, 1997:187).

Such perspectives acknowledge the normative social order in the construction of difference (Moloney and Fenstermaker, 2002), and share a concern with the establishment of (gendered) patterns of social relations which become established as transparent normative expectations over time (Foucault, 1978).

Whilst they need not always be (Overboe, 1999; Simpson and Lewis, 2007), the differences and distinctions constructed between people (West and Fenstermaker, 2002) within such categories of social relations are usually understood within a hierarchical relationship of ‘One’ and ‘Other’ (de Beauvoir, 1972). One of the binary pair is recognized as the norm, and associated attributes and values establish social norms, to the negation and marginalization of those people considered ‘Other’ (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). This understanding draws attention to the “workings of the social relationships” (West and Fenstermaker, 2002:96), necessary to organizing processes (Chia, 1995) which produce different outcomes for people thus categorized as different.

Butler (1999) highlights the necessity of critiquing binary frames, particularly in terms of how their use contributes to the construction and consolidation of the very categories that are often the subject of critique or deconstruction (Butler, 1999; Knights and Kerfoot, 2004).

Whilst they are sometimes treated as such, it is critical to appreciate social categories are not self-evident (Alvesson and Billing, 2002; Burr, 2003), rather they are established through social practices (Butler, 1999), social constructions reflecting wider social and historical conditions (Alvesson and Billing, 2009).

This reflects a current debate in gender and organization studies on the fruitfulness or otherwise of maintaining a binary understanding of gender (Linstead and Brewis, 2004; Linstead and Pullen, 2008; Pullen and Knights, 2007). It is argued more inclusive categorizations are required, open to, for example, queering (Bendl, 2008) or gender multiplicities (Linstead and Pullen, 2008), and 'undoing' gender (Butler, 2004; Pullen and Knights, 2007). These debates surface the complexity and challenge of researching any category of social relations which implies or draws upon a binary frame or set of relations. Set against this is the argument that thinking in terms of binaries, or "dualisms" is a "learnt state of being" (Baxter and Hughes, 2004:363), reflecting a wider orientation to how people engage with the social world (Lamont and Molnár, 2002).

Beyond these arguments is the suggestion that the focus of concern should remain with the binaries constructed around categories of social relations and how these are used to naturalize hierarchical normative categories which subordinate 'Others', rather than debating binary thinking itself (Borgerson and Rehn, 2004). Knights and Kerfoot (2004:431) similarly suggest the

concern is less to dissolve the...binary than to undermine the hierarchy with which it is associated. One way that this may be achieved is through reflecting more closely on the conditions that make possible the hierarchical privileging of one side of the...divide.

This reflects the view adopted for this thesis, that symbolic boundaries such as categories of social relations, and constructed and perceived differences between incumbents of such categories, remain important, as when "widely agreed upon" they contribute to "pattern[ing] social interaction in important ways" which can impact upon access to material resources (Lamont and Molnár, 2002:168-9), that is they can become organizing principles, and therefore remain an important conceptual tool (Lamont and Molnár, 2002) within organization studies.

1.4 Research parameters

Having set out the rationale and theoretical perspectives informing this research, the research question, research objectives and approach to producing disabled academics' narrative accounts are set out below.

This research aims to make an original theoretical contribution through the development of a disability studies lens and extend our understanding of disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis in organization studies by answering the research question:

- *What can disabled academics' career experiences offer to studies of organization?*

This main research question is answered by considering the following sub-questions;

- How can disabled academics' career experiences be researched in a way which centres their perspective?
- Which career boundaries do disabled academics experience?
- What discourses and discursive resources are drawn upon in disabled academics' accounts of their career and organizing experiences, and what work do these discourses do to shape disabled academics' career experiences?
- What can disabled academics' career experiences tell us about organizing in higher education?

The research objectives which will enable this thesis to answer these research questions and which will be addressed through the thesis chapters are;

- To develop a disability studies theoretical lens incorporating disability, ableism and impairment effects through which disabled academics' career experiences can be interpreted and which contributes new insights to organization studies
- To fuse disability, organization and career studies literatures through which disabled academics' career experiences can be theorized
- To develop a methodology and appropriate methods which place disabled academics 'centre stage' and support an in-depth exploration of disabled academics' career and organizing experiences
- To offer in-depth interpretations of disabled academics' career experiences, identifying both similarities and differences in and between these experiences
- To identify insights from the empirical study of disabled academics' career experiences which contribute to the understanding of disabled academics' career boundaries

- To identify some of the discourses, and discursive resources drawn upon, within disabled academics' career contexts, and interpret the work these discourses do to shape disabled academics career and organizing experiences
- Through the development of the thesis, to provide original theoretical and empirical contributions to organization studies

1.5 Research methodology

This thesis draws upon a constructionist understanding of the social world (Burr, 2003), which suggests it is through interacting and relating with others we come to understand ourselves and to construct knowledge (Crotty, 1998). People and organizations are understood to always be in process; in the process of meaning making, in the process of constructing knowledge through processes of relating (Hosking, 1999; Hosking and Morley, 1991) through the "actions, interactions, and the local orchestration of relationships" (Chia, 1995:581).

Relevant to this thesis, this enables an appreciation that the divisions constructed to understand the social world, for example disabled and non-disabled people, tell us not of the nature of what we observe (Burr, 2003) but of the normative social order, and the social categories we construct to enable our understanding and meaning of our observations, whilst acknowledging that these are open to critique (Burr, 2003).

This view recognizes that processes of relating are "power infused" in which some and not others are privileged (Cunliffe, 2008:128). Rather than reflecting reality, such an understanding holds discourse as constitutive and central (Hosking, 1999) to "giving form to reality" (Cunliffe, 2001:352), bringing people and things into being (Hosking, 1999).

Eight disabled academics' career experiences are interpreted through a narrative inquiry. This thesis understands narrative as a process through which people "make sense of experience" (Chase, 1995:5), and "communicate meaning" (Chase, 1995:7), as they seek to describe "human action" (Polkinghorne, 1995:5). Narratives are also recognized to be social (Chase, 1995; Cunliffe, 2003; Polkinghorne, 1995), an appreciation that we narrate our experiences within contexts shaped by particular discourses, and our self-understandings "both shape and are shaped by these...discourses" (Chase, 1995:X). This thesis draws upon a Foucauldian (1972) understanding to appreciate how discourses operate as "groups of related statements which cohere in some way to produce both meaning and effects in the real world" (Carabine, 2001:268).

Discourses are understood to be “patterns...which are related to a particular topic...enable[ling] people to talk about different things” (Taylor, 2001:8), and drawn upon as resources (Kuhn, 2006) as people negotiate their organizing contexts, connecting language with practice (saying and doing) (Hall, 2001), through which “people are either categorized together or separated out as different” (Taylor, 2001:9).

To interpret interview generated narrative accounts (Burr, 2003), the voice-centred relational method (VCRM) (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) is drawn upon. The VCRM outlines four readings of each narrative account, requires the researcher to remain focused upon the voices of participants, be reflexive on assumptions and interpretations, understand participants’ views of themselves in their lives and worlds they inhabit, consider relationships which support or silence, and links the researcher to contextual factors important to the participants’ experiences (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998).

The VCRM is developed by further interpretations of the work, discourses do to shape disabled academics experiences by drawing upon a genealogical “snapshot” (Carabine, 2001:280) informed approach to interpreting discourses within participants narrative accounts, and through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). The aim of fusing these three forms of analysis is to centre disabled academics experiences reflexively and to surface both transgressive and hierarchical knowledge claims (Foucault, 1984) which contribute to their career experiences.

This approach recognizes normative truths as partial (Foucault, 1980; Weedon, 1997), and reflects a desire to identify alternative (transgressive) knowledges which add to our understanding of the social world. The alternative knowledges focused upon in this thesis are those of disabled academics whose voices, it is argued through the literature reviews in Chapter Three, are rarely heard, or inform, organization or career studies focused research and theorizing.

1.6 Limitations to the scope of the thesis

It is important to state which areas this thesis will not address, as the constraints of a PhD thesis require limitations to the scope of the research. In adopting a constructionist narrative inquiry, whilst experiences of and/or identity construction are legitimate and often researched areas (Elliott, 2005), this thesis focuses upon the career experiences of disabled academics without engaging in debates on identity or drawing upon the identity literature within organization studies.

The decision to exclude identity from this thesis was based upon a number of factors. Firstly, identity has a problematic place within the disability studies field. Swain and French (2000:569) argue for the affirmative model of disability which supports the development of positive self and community identities for disabled people which are “grounded in the benefits of lifestyle and life experience of being impaired and disabled” and which “enhance life or provide a lifestyle of equal satisfaction and worth” (2000:570).

However, Watson (2002) and Shakespeare (1996; 2006) recognize identity is a “complex field” (Shakespeare and Watson, 2002:94) and problematize disability identity, particularly community identity, which is complicated by the heterogeneity of disabled people (Shakespeare, 2006). Shakespeare (2006) suggests a positive political identity has emerged from the disability movement, which conflicts with the rejection of being labelled disabled, which is associated with negative associations such as reinforcing a victim status. In addition, Shakespeare (2006) argues that whilst the disability movement has embraced a positive political identity, members are not representative of all disabled people, who do not necessarily identify with the social model or a disability identity (Watson, 2002). Secondly, Alvesson et al.’s (2008a) review of philosophical and theoretical approaches to identity acknowledges the varying approaches to, and significant scale of, the identity literature within organization studies. The breadth, depth, and complexity of this field, taken with the complexity of how identity is addressed within disability studies, suggested to me that this in itself could form a thesis.

Whilst the experiences of disabled academics could be analysed to provide accounts of self, or social, identity constructions (Alvesson et al., 2008a), the theoretical interests of this thesis lie in critiquing the empirical and theoretical lacuna in career and organization studies on disability and ableism. This led me to prioritise a review of disability studies, organization studies, the academic career, and disabled peoples’ experiences of work literatures with an emphasis upon experiences and an interest in the discourses which inform experiences of organizing processes. These factors mean that identity, per se, has not informed the analysis presented in this thesis.

In addition, it is acknowledged that the concepts of intersectionality and gender, whilst having proved useful in assisting me to appreciate the ways in which processes of organizing and theorizing within organization studies can be critiqued to expose organizing norms which marginalize, do not inform the analysis presented within this thesis.

Gender and intersectionality are approaches used to theorize the relationships between “different social categories” (Valentine, 2007:10), and are recognized as contributing to some analysis of processes of social and organizing practices (Calás and Smircich, 1999; Simpson, 2009). Within disability studies there is similarly an interest in exploring disability intersectionally to identify the “convergence of networks that produce exclusionary matrices and ontologies” (Campbell, 2008a:153). However, again the scope of a PhD led me to decide that the gender and intersectionality literatures, which have informed the development of the thesis’ critique of both disability and organization studies, would not be drawn upon within the thesis analysis.

1.6.1 Research sites – case studies of disabled academics

This research adopts an instrumental case study strategy (Stake, 2005) to generate narrative accounts with disabled academics. This approach supports an interest in individual cases, yet allows the researcher to move from the particularities of each case to “provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization” across cases (Stake, 2005:445) to develop theoretical propositions (Yin, 1994). Eight disabled academics’ careers are explored in this study, reflecting the argument that between four and ten cases (Eisenhardt, 1989), five or six (Ellis and Bochner, 2000) or eight interviews (McCracken, 1988) suffice for qualitative research, particularly narrative interviews due to the uniqueness of each case producing voluminous and rich data (Lieblich et al., 1998). One of the aims of this thesis is to amplify (Riessman, 2008) disabled academics’ voices, and to ensure each disabled academic’s voice was present in the presentation of the research findings.

Eight participants were identified as the maximum that could be handled in this way, and which met the guidelines for producing qualitative, case study research outlined above.

1.7 Thesis structure

Chapter One has outlined the personal and theoretical rationale for the development of a disability studies lens to take forward an interest in the potential theoretical contribution of disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis in organization studies through the study of disabled academics’ career experiences. Reviews of organization studies, disabled people and disabled academics’ numerical place in employment and HE, and the disability and career studies literatures were outlined to support this interest.

The orientation of the thesis towards researching career boundaries was explored with a brief consideration of the relevance of symbolic and social boundaries within social research. The research parameters were explained and the methodological orientation of the thesis briefly overviewed before the thesis structure was outlined.

Chapter Two offers an overview of dominant and new discourses of disability developed and critiqued through the disability studies field. Paradigmatic divergence and convergences within the field are surfaced and a theoretical interest in ableism, discourse, and experiences of impairment are outlined. The literature on disability and work, language, declaration of disability (including visibility and invisibility of impairment effects), UK disability legislative framework, and involvement are then reviewed. The literatures reviewed are brought together to construct a disability studies lens to inform the interpretations and theorization of disability and ableism through disabled academics' career experiences.

Chapter Three outlines meta-theoretical orientations informing organization studies, locating this thesis within the epistemological project (Calás and Smircich, 1999) in organization studies. Career studies is located within organization studies, and an empirical and theoretical gap on disability and disabled academics is then identified within the boundaryless and academic career literatures. The chapter concludes by outlining how a fusion of the disability studies lens, epistemological project and disability studies, boundaryless, and academic career literatures will be taken forward to inform the theoretical framework of the thesis.

Chapter Four locates the epistemological and ontological orientation and outlines a rationale for the methodological choices shaping this thesis. The research process is outlined, highlighting the methods adopted to interpret disabled academics' narrative accounts and the evaluative framework for the thesis is briefly introduced.

Chapter Five outlines five clusters of disabled academics' career experiences, highlighting similarities and differences between disabled academics' accounts. Synthesizing these empirical insights with the disability studies lens, disability studies and some of the boundaryless and academic career literatures, the chapter offers insights into some of the career boundaries disabled academics experience, and begins to surface some of the discourses shaping these experiences.

Chapter Six takes forward the discourses interpreted as contributing to the career boundaries in Chapter Five to offer a conceptualization of the work the discourses do to shape disabled academics' career experiences. Synthesizing these through the disability studies lens and some of the extant literature explored in Chapters Two, Three and Four the chapter contributes to understanding how disability and ableism shape disabled academics' career experiences, arguing these are productive categories for analysis in studies of organization.

Chapter Seven reflects back upon the research objectives through which the thesis aims to answer the overarching research question and make a contribution to organization studies. Consideration is then given to the evaluative framework for and ethical issues surfaced by the thesis, before considering limitations of the thesis and concluding by identifying possible further research projects.

1.8 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the development of this thesis, including details of the personal, professional and theoretical influences which shaped the development of the thesis focus upon studying disabled academics' career experiences. The chapter has provided an overview of the theoretical and methodological frameworks informing the thesis and highlighted a potential original contribution to organization studies. This is followed in the next two chapters by a detailed critique of the literature outlining the theoretical framework shaping the thesis.

Chapter Two – Researching disability

2.1 Introduction – Developing a disability studies lens

To understand and analyse the experiences of disabled academics, this thesis takes as its starting point the field of disability studies. This is an approach to understanding and researching disabled people's experiences from their own perspectives and experiences and is a perspective fundamentally committed to the inclusion of disabled people in social life. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background to the development of, and outline how disability is conceptualised within, the field of disability studies, before turning attention to some key issues addressed within the literature which are relevant to this thesis to begin to answer the research question:

- *What can disabled academics' career experiences offer to studies of organization?*

In doing so, this chapter addresses the following research objective:

- *To develop a disability studies theoretical lens incorporating disability, ableism and impairment effects through which disabled academics' career experiences can be interpreted and which contributes new insights to organization studies*

In addition, by developing a disability studies lens this chapter also begins to contribute to the following research objective:

- *To fuse disability, organization and career studies literatures through which disabled academics' career experiences can be theorized*

To locate the thesis in relation to the disability studies field and to develop a disability studies informed theoretical lens with which disabled academics' career experiences will be explored, relevant issues and tensions raised by differing paradigmatic perspectives within the field will be addressed. This is followed by outlines of key themes within the disability studies literature which are relevant to the development of this thesis. These are disability and work; declaration, visibility and invisibility of impairments; disability legislation; and finally involvement.

2.1.1 Disability studies lens

Disability studies as a theoretical lens has been adopted by a range of scholars within the field as a means of critiquing and developing other fields, disciplines and professional practices, generating theoretical insights and widening the impact of disability studies as a means of developing inclusive practices. Erevelles (2005) suggests disability studies is becoming an increasingly important approach to analysing disability in the humanities and social sciences, reflecting Davis' (2002:44) suggestion that "disability is beginning to provide a new lens through which perceptions can be refracted in a different light".

In indicating that this thesis draws upon disability studies as a lens, it is important to outline the meaning of the use of this term. Deetz (1992:66-67) suggests the metaphor of the lens is a productive way of recognizing all theoretical choices are ways of "seeing and thinking about the world" and an appreciation of the role of theory in shaping an inquiry by drawing attention to particular aspects of the phenomenon under study, rather than others. Ashcraft (2004:276) uses the term framing, to understand lens as a metaphor, and to avoid the suggestion of a "durable mental map". Instead, the rationale for thinking of lenses (or frames as Ashcraft refers to them) is to acknowledge that research is developed by drawing upon particular theories "shared by certain approaches to research, which illuminate particular features yet remain provisional" (Ashcraft, 2004:276). Such an understanding situates a thesis, yet reminds the reader that there are alternative lenses which can be adopted for the study of any given phenomena. In this thesis a disability studies lens is adopted through which disabled academics' experiences of career and organization will be researched.

2.2 Individual interpretation of disability – dominant discourses on disability

Prior to the development of the disability studies field Barnes (2004:28) suggests the emphasis within the academy had been the "analysis of social responses to impairment or disability...the preserve of academics concerned primarily with the reaction to and management of ascribed social deviance". Barnes (2004) suggests the ways in which the work of Goffman (1968), has been adopted is a "noteable example of such an approach" (Barnes, 2004:28), interpreted and applied with a "focus on the traits and characteristics of disabled people" (Thanem, 2008:585), disability as a spoiled identity, how such identities are managed (Gray, 2009) and how others perceive disabled people, rather than researching from disabled people's experiences or critiquing how disability is constructed (Gray, 2009).

The dominant discourse emerging from this perspective and approach to researching disability was to draw upon an individual understanding which locates disability as an outcome of individual deficit (Oliver, 1983). The individual deficit explanation for disability is inextricably connected to a dominant medical ideology and model of disability (medical model), which located disability as a consequence of impairment (Oliver, 1990). Such an approach maintains that the 'problem' of disability is located within the impaired individual, and is a consequence of biological or functional limitations, which require medical diagnosis and treatment or rehabilitation to normative, non-disabled standards or expectations, the aim of which is to assist the disabled person to achieve some form of 'normalization', that is to operate within the social world to the ideal of non-disability (French, 2001).

Disability is thus "transformed into a social problem", a form of social invalidation (Hughes, 2002:61), and problematized as an undesirable state (Hughes, 2007) to be overcome. As such social organization is premised upon non-disability as a normative standard against which all people are assessed, assumed to assess themselves, and expected to strive to achieve (Campbell, 2009b; Hughes, 2007). It is the individual impaired person who is lacking, and the social context is regarded as "unproblematic" (Swain et al., 2003:23). The consequence Oliver (2009) notes, is that it is the impaired person who is anticipated to change to conform to 'being normal'; a dominant discourse shaping disabled people's experiences.

French (2001:4) suggests the medical model is a "sub-category of the over-arching individual model", underpinned by the tragedy model of disability (tragedy model) (Oliver, 1990). As a personal tragedy disability is a "terrible chance event which occurs at random to unfortunate individuals" (Oliver, 1996:32) positioning disabled people as victims (Oliver, 1990). The tragedy model is recognized as widely infused "throughout media representations, language, cultural beliefs, research, policy and professional practice" (Swain and French, 2000:572), emphasizing disability as a consequence of impairment, a terrible affliction affecting an individual, who is pathologized and to be pitied.

Disability here constitutes an "*inherently* negative" ontology (Campbell, 2005:109 emphasis in original). The emphasis emerging from these constructions of disability is towards social policies to compensate people with impairments, rather than enabling their full inclusion in social life.

The consequence of such perspectives for disabled people is that they are limited in their ability to influence decision making around their own requirements, as the views of professionals are privileged over disabled people's right for self-determination (Thomas, 1999). It is argued the strength of these models of disability has led to disability being conceived of as "a nonproblematic category for analytical purposes" (Oliver, 1986:6) across social sciences before the 1980s and the development of disability studies within academe (Barnes, 2004).

This individualized conception of disability can be seen in social policy (Oliver, 1986), sociological accounts (Shakespeare, 2006) or research agendas (Oliver, 1986), and media and cultural representations (Shakespeare, 1999) of disabled people. As such the individual model is understood to have become a dominant discourse informing social responses and understandings of the meaning of disability in the western world both inside and outside of the academe.

As Shah (2005:23) notes, the individual model remains "extremely significant to the lives of disabled people" and their careers, shaping expectations, perceptions of and attitudes towards disabled people, as they continue to be assessed against conceptions of 'normality', that is non-disability.

Whilst the disability studies field is relatively new (Gleeson, 1997), it is characterized by a focus upon refuting these dominant discourses of disability, initially developing the social model of disability (social model) as an alternative conceptualization and discourse premised upon a socio-political explanation of disability and it is to this explanation of disability that the chapter now turns.

2.3 Social interpretation of disability – new disability discourses

The development of the UK disability studies field was closely connected to the Disabled People's Movement (DPM) in the UK. The DPM in the 1970s aimed to "raise disability rights as a political issue" (Leach, 1996:88) and the voices of disabled people to challenge their exclusion from mainstream society. The DPM aimed for the social inclusion of disabled people and influence over matters such as social policies which directly affected their lives (Germon, 1998), for example adopting the North American Independent Living Movement concern for "housing, personal assistance, mobility/transport, access and peer counselling", with the addition of "information and technical equipment including support" (Evans, 2003:7).

Employment was a later inclusion in the DPM agenda for social change. It was not until 1989 that the Independent Living Movement, which contributed significantly to the DPM agenda, extended the earlier seven basic needs of disabled people to include employment alongside “education and training, income and benefits together with advocacy” (Evans, 2003:8).

A concern for the voices of disabled people to be surfaced, raised in and through disability studies research resonates from early studies such as Oliver (1983) through to current research, for example Tanenbaum (2009). As Oliver (1996:170) argues, the role of the disability studies academic is in contributing to “illuminating the interweaving of sectional and societal interests”.

Influenced by the 1976 publication of ‘Fundamental Principles of Disability’ by the Union of the Physically Impaired against Segregation (UPIAS) (Barnes, 2003) the UK disability studies field became the academic arm of the DPM (Barnes et al., 2002) following the development of disabled people’s activism in the 1960s and 1970s. UPIAS called for a social interpretation of disability and the separation of the effects of impairment (for disabled people) from experiences of disability

we define impairment as lacking part of or all of a limb, or having a defective limb, organ or mechanism of the body; and disability as the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from participation in the mainstream of social activities. Physical disability is therefore a particular form of social oppression. (UPIAS, 1976:14).

Impairment is maintained as a biological characteristic, as expressed within the medical model with disability being re-categorized as the outcome of “social and political process[es]” (Swain et al., 2003:23), and negative social responses to people with impairments, as ‘different’ to normative expectations. UPIAS (1976) highlighted the exclusion from mainstream society, social activities, and employment as central issues which are recognized as impoverishing disabled people’s life chances.

The principles of UPIAS (1976) were adapted to include other impairment types (rather than solely physical impairments), and offer an explanatory framework for disabled people and researchers to draw upon in researching experiences of disability.

There was subsequently a symbiotic (Barnes et al., 2002) development between the DPM and the disability studies field, with the DPM providing key ideas and “shaping the academic agenda” (Oliver and Barton, 2000:2). This relationship has drawn upon the social model as the dominant approach to researching disabled people’s experiences in the UK within the disability studies field (Thomas, 2004a).

Disability within the social model, as suggested by Oliver (1996:5) “contains three elements (i) the presence of an impairment; (ii) the experience of externally imposed restrictions; (iii) self-identification as a disabled person”. Disability studies argues for disability to be taken seriously as an analytical category (Oliver, 1990) and maintains “an explicit commitment to assist disabled people in their fight for full equality and social inclusion” and self determination (Thomas, 1999:571).

Swain and Cook (2001:186) suggest the principle of inclusion can be understood as a move “from product to process”. This is away from the social world being “organized to suit the requirements of non-disabled people...[and] ignor[ing] the requirements of disabled people” (Swain et al, 2003:23). This can be understood as a re-inscription away from a social identity perspective “predicated upon the presence of physical or mental impairment” as incorporated within the individual model, towards disability being re-inscribed as “a problem of social organization” (Hughes, 2002:73). The focus within disability studies is thus to effect social change (Oliver, 1992) by removing socially created barriers to the participation of disabled people, and can be understood as a socio-political agenda, seeking praxis, the development of both social theory and social change (Abberley, 1987; Goodley and Van Hove, 2005; Oliver, 1996; Roulstone, 1998a).

Within a social model orientation, impairment is argued to be both structurally produced as a consequence of (or a lack of) medical care, class and poverty, and culturally as a consequence of the individual model of disability which permeates social responses to disabled people (Oliver, 1990). However, within social model research, cultural aspects of disability have received less attention (Shakespeare, 1998; Corker, 1999a/b).

In line with UPIAS (1976), in defining impairment as a biological or functional limitation, and disability as a social construction, the social model affirms a binary (Hughes, 2007) and sustains a bifurcation between the two, and is committed to directing research away from the individual (and impairment) towards the social organization of society and work (Oliver, 1990).

Barnes (2003:5), when reviewing approaches to researching disability, restates Oliver's (1983:23) argument that the social model as "nothing more or less fundamental' than a shift away from an emphasis upon individual impairments towards the way in which physical, cultural and social environments exclude or disadvantage people labelled disabled". Social model approaches' emphasis upon understanding disabled people as oppressed aligns disablism (Abberley, 1987; Oliver, 1990) with "concepts like sexism, racism and homophobia" (Thomas, 2004a:578/9). Such an approach emphasizes disabled people's collective experiences of oppression, rather than individual personal experiences, or experiences of impairment (Oliver, 1996).

This approach can be understood to be drawing upon a materialist or Marxist orientation (Corker, 1999b; Goodley, 2001) reflected in the collective and economic emphasis which has informed the research agenda and the development of the social model (Thomas, 2007). As such, an analysis of experiences of impairment, connections between impairment and forms of social organization which disable, or a concern for how disability is discursively socially constructed (Thomas, 1999) were not pursued within the field by first wave (Barnes, 1998) social model orientated researchers.

The social model can accordingly be understood as offering a socio-political, rather than "individual deficit" explanation for disability (Tregaskis, 2004:13), as an approach developed by academics in relation with the DPM, from a materialist paradigmatic perspective, which bifurcates impairment and disability and emphasizes collective over individual experiences.

The disability studies challenge to a social emphasis upon non-disabled norms (Swain et al., 1998; Hughes, 2007) is to seek the inclusion, of disabled people's requirements in the organization of social life. Such an approach, it is argued

fundamentally challenges the traditional approach which regards impairment and disabled people as marginal, or an 'afterthought', instead of recognising that impairment and disablement are a common experience of humanity, and should be a central issue in the planning and delivery of a human service (Rieser and Mason, 1994:41)

Researching the social exclusion, disadvantage and marginalization of disabled people has remained a central tenet of the field (see for example Shakespeare, 1998; Swain et al., 2004).

However, the issue of how normality is discursively constructed, reproduced and maintained (Thompson, 1998) has received little attention amongst first wave researchers. However, a concern for the work discourses do in shaping disabled people's experiences has been taken forward as a concern in the research agendas of subsequent waves of disability studies scholars such as Corker (1999a/b), explored further below in Section 2.4.4.

Shakespeare (2006) highlights that there have been alternative versions and approaches to social models of disability, including the affirmative model (Swain and French, 2000), the bio psycho social model (Marks, 1999) and Thomas' (2004b, 2007) relational emphasis within a social model framework.

However, the individual and social models as outlined here remain the dominant understandings of disability, and important to both disabled people, in how they are drawn upon (Corker, 1999a/b; Shah, 2005; Thomas, 2004a/b), and to disability studies scholars in the theorization of disability. As the field has developed, alternative paradigmatic perspectives have entered and drawn researchers' attention to alternative approaches through which disability may be theorized. It is to these perspectives that this review now turns.

2.4 Paradigmatic divergence and convergence

As outlined above, the social model has played an important role in enabling disabled people to challenge dominant discourses on disability. However, Corker (1999a) suggests the dominance of the social model has limited exploration of disabled people's experiences, criticism Thomas (1999:24) surmises as an over emphasis upon "socio-structural barriers".

Corker (1999a) and Thomas (2004a) recognize the political and pragmatic value of the social model as a new disability discourse contributing to the gains made by the DPM, for disabled people, and the importance of maintaining links between disability studies and disabled people's activism. However, both Corker (1999a) and Thomas (2004a) identify there is scope to move from the social model emphasis upon structural barriers experienced by disabled people, to consider both disabled people and society.

Goodley and Lawthorn (2005), Meekosha (2004) Gabel and Peters (2004), and Shakespeare (2006) amongst others argue for the recognition that there are multiple strands within disability studies supporting the development of a wider theorizing of disability, which “heralds the beginning of a paradigm shift ...[and] welcomes diverse paradigmatic representations” (Gabel and Peters, 2004:586), including recognizing the need to consider “an understanding of the experiential, [and] discursive...issues involved” (Meekosha, 2004:726).

As Armer (2004:348) suggests, “social theory of disability should by its nature be a collaborative and incremental task” an understanding which can be extended to include the attempts to bring differing paradigmatic insights to illuminate disabled people’s experiences as the social theory of disability is developed. I interpret this to mean that rather than attempting to impose one way of developing knowledge on disability, a range of paradigmatic perspectives enables researchers to build new insights and understanding reflexively (Alvesson et al, 2008b).

For Gabel (2005) this leads to a shift in understanding towards disability studies scholars thinking in terms of a social interpretation, rather than model, of disability as a way of encompassing broader theoretical approaches.

A social interpretation of disability maintains a concern for disabled people’s requirements to be acknowledged as legitimate differences (Overboe, 1999), which should be accommodated in how the social world is organized rather than perceived as deficit, that is “without any negative value attached to that difference” (Gray, 2009:317) as it is understood through the individual interpretation discourse of disability. A widening of theoretical perspectives and increased interest in the contribution of postmodern theories (Simmons et al., 2008), critical theory and post-structuralist influenced research (Goodley, 2009b) has begun to contribute to research within the field from focusing solely upon disability as deficit or disablism, and which account, for example, for social interaction (Simmons et al., 2008), and a focus upon ableism (Campbell, 2009a/b).

2.4.1 Studies in ableism within the new disability discourse

Studies in ableism can be understood as shifting the gaze in disability studies from a research emphasis upon social reformation through an analysis focused upon "the intermediate level of function, structure and institution in civil society and shifting values in the cultural arena" (Campbell, 2009b:4) to consider the assumption, privileging and maintenance of non-disability as an organizing normative principle (Campbell, 2009b: Chouinard, 1997; Hughes, 2007; Overboe, 1999).

Chouinard (1997:380 emphasis added) suggests ableism "refers to ideas, practices, institutions and social relations that *presume ablebodiedness*, and by so doing, construct persons with disabilities as marginalised... 'others'". Overboe (1999) suggests drawing upon a Deluzian understanding of difference could mean disability need not be an automatically negated difference, rather disability could be a difference which is neither "valued or devalued" (Overboe, 1999:25). However, disability as negated difference and the devaluation of disabled people's lived experience "has a long history" (Overboe, 1999:18), and it is more common for disabled peoples requirements to be thought of as different to normative assumptions rather than as "ordinary people doing ordinary things" (Oliver, 1990:61), albeit potentially adopting different ways of organizing to non-disabled people. A concern for ableism is one means of taking forward a concern with how disability is maintained as negated difference.

Ableism, for this thesis, is understood to enable a research concern with "the production, operation and maintenance of ableism" and how ableism contributes to "inaugurating the norm" (Campbell, 2009b:5) within organizing contexts. Ableism is therefore understood to shape "ideas, practices, institutions and social relations" reflected in organizing processes and practices which marginalize and 'Other' (Chouinard, 1997:380) disabled people, marking disabled people as different (Campbell, 2008b), through the maintenance of non-disability as the anticipated normative standard. However, whilst ableism as argued to offer additional insights to how we understand disability to be constructed (Campbell, 2009b) little is known of how ableism is achieved (Campbell, 2009b). Whereas historically disability studies research, drawing upon the social model, acknowledges the constitutive nature of the construction of able-bodiedness in establishing the construction of disability as individual pathology, through the individual model (Oliver, 1990), research emphasis has been upon disablism.

Campbell (2009b) suggests studies in ableism as an additional research approach would enable an understanding of how disabled people are marked and negated as different (Campbell, 2009b; Overboe, 1999) through a normative assumptions of non-disability, as a contribution to the development of critical disability studies (Goodley, 2009a) in the UK (Campbell, 2009a).

Whilst studies in ableism are understood to support a range of theoretical projects as a contribution and an extension to disability studies including disability in relation to aberrancy, anomaly, desire, and the critique of assumed and privileged ability (Campbell, 2009b), for this thesis including a concern for ableism offers an opportunity to contribute to "the project of speaking otherwise about disability" (Campbell, 2009b:115) by surfacing how disability is discursively constructed. That is, to foreground discourse in how disability as 'Other' emerges from assumptions of non-disability as normality, which is acknowledged within the UK disability studies field if not usually theoretically pursued.

A concern for how disability is discursively constructed is an issue returned to and taken forward in Section 2.4.2 which connects Campbell's (2008a/b, 2009b) argument for ableism to earlier disability studies researchers who have argued for the surfacing of the co-construction of disability/non-disability, Sections 2.4.5, 2.4.5.1 and 2.4.5.2 where the ontological status of impairment in disability studies is outlined, and Section 2.4.4 where the role of discourse within disability studies in constructing disability is considered.

Key issues considered in the frameworks outlined in this review and the location of this thesis are summarized in Table 2.1 below.

	Frameworks of impairment, disability and ableism		
	Individual model	Social model	Social interpretation emphasis of this thesis
Impairment	Biological characteristic ^{8,9}	Biological characteristic ^{8,9}	Impairment effects experienced ^{6,10,11,12} and a discursive social construction ^{2,3,4,5,6}
Disability	Consequence of biological impairment ^{8,9}	Socially created through economic and social relations and structural factors ⁸	Discursive social construction and outcome of social organizing processes and practices ^{1,2,3,4,5}
	Personal tragedy ⁸	Social oppression ⁸	Social construction ^{1,2,5,6,7}
Ableism	Theoretically absent	Acknowledges non-disability as organizing norm, but does not engage theoretically with ableism ¹	The privileging of non-disability as an organizing norm ¹ Theorized as important aspect of construction of organizing contexts

Table 2.1 Frameworks of impairment, disability and ableism discussed in this thesis

Drawing upon: Campbell (2009b)¹; Corker (1998², 1999a^{3,b4}); Goodley (2004)⁵; Hughes and Patterson (1997)⁶; Hughes (2007)⁷; Oliver (1990)⁸; Swain et al (2003)⁹; Thomas (1999¹⁰, 2004b¹¹, 2007¹²).

Across the paradigmatic divergences within disability studies, the following key issues are raised which are considered relevant for the development of the disability studies lens for this thesis: the place of experience and experiences of impairment and impairment effects, disabled people's social agency, and language and discourse.

2.4.2 The place of experience in disability studies - the contribution of feminism and gender

Thomas (2007) offers an overview of disability studies feminist research which outlines how engagement with feminist theory had made a contribution to the development of disability studies; particularly in integrating feminist theory and practice within disability studies to develop the field and recognizing the importance of personal experience for theory development.

Connecting feminist theory and disability studies was a key concern of Morris (1991, 1993a/b, 1996) and other feminist disability studies theorists which contributed to a concern over the exclusion of experience (and experiences of impairment) within disability studies (Begum, 1992; Crow, 1996; French, 1993; Thomas, 1999, 2001). Morris (1993a:57) suggested “feminist theory and methodology has a major contribution to make to disability research”, for drawing attention to the importance of experience and experiences of impairment.

An aspect of this critique was recognition that the concept of a binary distinction between women and men is an understanding of social relations which could equally be applied to disabled people and disability studies (Morris, 1993a). Morris’ (1993a) understanding draws upon de Beauvoir (1972) who argued the social position of men had become representative of humanity, hierarchically centred as the ‘One’ which naturalizes men and masculinity as representing the universal, positive and neutral, and positions women as the ‘Other’; different, setting these social relations in a hierarchical relationship where men and associated values and attributes are valued above women and their associated values and attributes. The extension of ‘One/Other’ relations to non-disability/disability reflects de Beauvoir’s (1972) view that there are analogies between men and women as ‘One’/‘Other’ and relations within other social groups. Simons (2000) outlines how de Beauvoir’s (1972) analysis included race, caste, class and sex as social categories through which ‘othering’ occurs.

Morris’ (1993a:67) interpretation suggests disabled people are positioned as ‘Other’ through non-disability which occupies the position of ‘One’ and “is treated as both the positive and the universal experience; while the experience of disability ‘represents only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity’”. Disability stands alone as ‘Other’, without an acknowledgement of how disability is constructed through assumptions of non-disability as an organizing norm.

Shakespeare (1994:292) similarly suggests processes which construct some categories of people as ‘Other’ can thus be extended to disabled people

I would argue that there is a general process by which the subordinated person becomes ‘the other’, common to a range of groups in society: women, black people, and also disabled people.

This argument suggests theorizing within disability studies is underpinned by an appreciation of how non-disability is constructed within a binary frame (Butler, 1999) with the construction of disability, bringing a more relational understanding into view. That is, rather than perceiving disability within an individualized perspective, to surface disability and non-disability as constructions within a category of social relations. This brings non-disability into the research frame and may enable further theorization of the construction of disability as an outcome of the naturalized universal and neutral status of non-disability, which whilst inaugurated as the norm (Campbell, 2009b) remains invisible and disconnected from constructions of disability in much disability focused research.

This reflects Campbell's (2009b:6) argument that disability/non-disability are not "discrete, self-evident and fixed", rather the binary dynamic established between disabled and non-disabled people is "co-relationally constitutive". Price and Shildrick (2002:64) similarly argue for the construction of "'disabled' and 'non-disabled/able-bodied'" in "mutual relation".

Feminist researchers (Begum, 1992; Crow, 1996; French, 1993; Morris, 1991, 1993a; Thomas, 1999, 2001) critiqued key research within disability studies for the assumption that "the experience of disabled men...[is] representative of the disabled experience in general" (Morris, 1993b:85). This 'malestream' emphasis is represented in research which emphasizes economic structures and which fails to account for disabled women's experiences (Fawcett, 2000), particularly by maintaining a private/public divide in disability theorizing (Morris, 1993a/b; Thomas, 1999) which separates impairment, particularly experiences of impairment, from disability.

Fawcett (2000:119) suggests to deny difference is to re-assert a "male-orientated...sameness", of malestream theorizing. This would fail to "unsettle notions that some areas of social life are 'private' or 'presocial'", an appreciation of which contributes to "challenging the epistemological foundations of the social sciences" (Thomas, 1999: 69), and is equally required when researching disability. Bringing experiences of impairment, left in the spheres of the pre-social and private by some social model research, is therefore open to be included in research drawing upon disability studies which recognizes impairment as a social as well as a subjective experience (Goodley, 2001).

Hughes (2007:678) similarly argues “impairment is the vantage point from which disabled people see the world”. Experiences, and effects, of impairment and disability are therefore understood to contribute to the knowledge produced by disabled people and inform our understanding of disabled people as knowledge producers whose experiences can inform theoretical developments (Campbell, 2009b; Hughes, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990, 1996; Thomas, 2007) both within disability studies and other disciplines. This concern for the experience of impairment is taken forward in Section 2.4.4 below.

2.4.3 Disabled people and social agency

It is argued that research approaches influenced by the social model consider disabled people as either overly constrained by structural barriers, or overly agentic in “achieving their own liberation” (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002:3). By agency, Corker and Shakespeare (2002) are surfacing a debate over disabled people’s ability to act, make choices, struggle with, influence, accept, or reject expectations of how they might live their lives in the social world. Corker and Shakespeare (2002) are arguing against a wholly free or wholly determined social agent, as either an autonomous individual, or as wholly constrained through socio-political and historically contextual arrangements. This downplays the debate on agency/structure as a dualism, and suggests an appreciation of how disabled people “are embedded in a complex network of social relations” is required (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002:3).

Considering both, rather than either/or, the disabled person and society can thus enable marginalized voices to be foregrounded (Corker, 1998). This would overcome the possibility of a reductionist understanding which does not enable an appreciation of the interplay between structure and agency, and acknowledges disabled people’s ability to act and influence, as they seek to shape their futures (Shah, 2006), is “something that is found within relationships of interdependence” (Fisher, 2007:286).

2.4.4 Disability, language and discourse

Oliver (1990) notes that the importance of being able to redefine experience through language is inextricably related to attempting to name one’s own experiences, refute attempts to undermine the repositioning of disability from an individual to a social understanding and in turn a positive sense of self and community.

This recognizes the importance of language, and how language associated with dominant discourses of disability influence everyday metaphors (Oliver, 1993, 2009), and can be understood to sustain pejorative and exclusionary meanings which have negative implications for disabled people (Barnes and Mercer, 2003; Bolt, 2005).

As the literature outlined in Section 2.3 suggests, the re-inscription or destabilization of language and discourses on disability is a central concern in disability studies (Titchkosky, 2007). However, Corker (1998) argues new discourses do not necessarily replace old discourses, rather it is necessary to appreciate that discourses exist alongside one another, and are drawn upon continuously, intermittently or simultaneously. This reflects a concern to acknowledge that both dominant and new disability discourses, for example, co-exist in shaping socially circulating meanings of, and social responses to, disability (Corker, 1998).

For example, authors critique the use of language such as 'special education' and 'special needs' (Corker, 1998), as a reflection of an individualized interpretation and the subsequent positioning of disabled children at the margins of society through segregated education (Oliver, 1996; Shah, 2005; Swain and Cook, 2001), which can be understood as reflecting broader social responses and practices in other areas of social life (Barnes, 1991). Language on disability is therefore recognized to be more than a "descriptive tool", it is a "means of exercising political expediency" (Corker, 1998:226), connecting with the argument that "discourses compete with each other on many different levels" (Corker, 1998:226).

Abberley (2002:122) suggests discourse can thus be appreciated as a plausible approach in disability studies as "the concepts through which we both understand and act in and upon the world affect these actions and thus the world itself". Such an understanding appreciates the role of discourse in "both open[ing] up and clos[ing] down possibilities for action" (Abberley, 2002:122), shaping what can be said, whilst also providing the means by which dominant discourses can be resisted (Corker and French, 1999), for example through the rejection of the dominant individual discourse of disability in favour of a social interpretation (Fisher, 2007). The success of an attempt to reconstruct a term or concept, in this instance disability, is thus dependent upon its uptake by other social actors (Sunderland, 2004).

Following Leonard (1997), Corker (1999a) argues for the addition of a research focus upon the work discourses do to shape disabled people's social lives in addition "to the Marxist 'paradigm of production' and its preoccupation with structure" (Corker, 1999a:639) which would enable research to further explore the role of discourse in shaping disabled people's experiences, an approach which falls outside of a materialist research frame (Corker, 1999a. See also Scott-Hill, 2004).

Discourse, understood as both potentially constraining, and a "powerful mechanism for social and cultural change" (Corker and French, 1999:8) is therefore recognized to play an important role in how we come to understand the social world, even if discourse has rarely been the focus of research attention within disability studies (Corker, 1999a/b).

2.4.5 The ontological position of impairment in disability studies

In the analysis of disability in disability studies there has always been a concern to start with disabled people's experiences (French and Swain, 2006; Goodley and Lawthom, 2005; Thomas, 1999), although it was stories of disablement rather than stories of impairment that had a more comfortable place within the field. However, theorists have brought experiences and perceptions of impairment into disability studies research (as outlined in Section 2.4.2 above) and, particularly relevant to this thesis, the study of disability and work (Lock et al., 2005; Roulstone, 1998a; Roulstone et al., 2003).

Roulstone et al. (2003) suggest impairment is an important, yet under theorized aspect of workplace dynamics. It is therefore relevant for this thesis to identify an approach which can incorporate experiences of impairment in the study of disabled academics' career experiences. This study draws upon Thomas' (Thomas, 1999, 2004b, 2007) term impairment effects as a means of bringing experiences of impairment into the analysis of disabled academics' career experiences. However, before moving on to explaining how impairment effects will be included, it is relevant to note an aspect of the wider and current ontological debate on impairment.

2.4.5.1 Impairment and disability studies

Whilst the social model has “largely rule[d] impairment out of the ontological domain of disability” (Hughes, 2007:674), the ontological place of impairment is an increasingly central concern in disability studies (Hughes, 2007). It is arguably important in shaping responses, negative assumptions and interpretations of disabled people, through which disabled people are argued to have been “cast in the role of the other” (Hughes and Paterson, 1997:325). Yet, when suggesting experiences of impairment have received “sustained interest” for over a decade, Hughes (2007:680) acknowledges the ontological place of impairment remains an “existential mire” within disability studies. It is not the intention of this thesis to attempt to resolve this issue, rather to acknowledge the debate, locate the position adopted for this thesis by highlighting aspects of the debate which can inform the development of this thesis.

This thesis follows Scott-Hill (2004:166) who suggests

impairment is lived in and through relationships with others, and it has ‘real’ consequences for how the social world is perceived and for social practice.

As Campbell (2009b:118) argues, experiencing the social world as a disabled person (living with impairment effects) imbricates “every aspect of action, perception, occurrence and knowing”. Epistemological assumptions of the nature of impairment are therefore an important aspect of a social theory of disability, requiring a move away from understanding impairment as a biological given towards an understanding of the social construction of impairment (Goodley, 2001). In this vein, Hughes and Paterson (1997:329) suggest impairment “is both an experience and a discursive construction”, it is both socially constructed through language and discourse, and experienced. This is reflected in the accounting of impairment found in the accounts of experiences by disabled people, yet “while impairment is present in practice and in the narratives which reflect it, it remains theoretically embryonic” (Hughes and Paterson, 1997:326). That is, whilst disabled people live with experiences of pain, discomfort and other aspects of the effects of impairment, and at times “have discussed their impairments as integral to their experiences” (Hughes, 2002:68), it has remained marginal to disability studies research.

An additional aspect to this debate which further brings the issue of impairment, and impairment effects (Thomas, 1999, 2004b, 2007), into focus is to acknowledge the additional work or effort involved in being disabled and living with impairment effects (Barnes and Mercer, 2005). This brings the additional time, effort, energy and commitment needed to negotiate the social world into view (Deegan, 2000). Pfeiffer's (2000:268) editorial overview for Disability Studies Quarterly (DSQ) highlights the additional organizing aspects of impairment effects for many of the edition's contributors, and which he suggests are a commonality for disabled people

I must plan my time and my every move. Doing one thing today which requires considerable energy means not doing something else tomorrow or maybe for several days. And my moves must be planned to conserve energy and also to prevent injury. We share more than I and others realize.

It is recognized that within disability studies there is a concern that bringing the body into accounts of disability may be a threat by invoking an individualized interpretation (Thomas, 2007).

However, as Cockburn (1991) and Hughes (2007) note, asserting a bodily reality, making bodies visible and re-inscribing them with more positive values, is a crucial aspect of rejecting the disembodied ideal that in many ways constructs and negates disabled people's organizing requirements.

Impairment must be rescued from a pre-social status as a "biological given" (Goodley and Lawthom, 2005:3) to "liberate the body for social theory" (Hughes and Paterson, 1997:331).

Being comfortable with bodily processes as a legitimate aspect of the social world, and an expectation that disabled people should be "supported in their project of being bodily present, acknowledged, accommodated and enabled...in the workplace and in organizational life" (Cockburn, 1991:212) is an important concern in the critique of conceptions of impairment and of organizing processes which are identified as being premised upon and reflecting broader social norms of non-disability. To challenge the exclusion of disabled people, for this thesis, requires engaging in some way with these norms.

This draws attention to an issue within the wider debate highlighted by Hughes (1999; 2002; 2007) on the ontological status of impairment in relation to non-impairment, and how a non-impairment perspective and a non-disabled subject are maintained unproblematically as the ideal within prevailing social norms (Campbell, 2009b; Hughes, 2007; Lawthom and Goodley, 2006).

Hughes (2007:673) argues, "What is required is a critical social ontology that problematizes non-disablement and exposes the forms of invalidation that lie at the heart of disabling culture." Shakespeare (1996:97) similarly suggests "rather than interrogating the other, let us rather deconstruct the normality-which-is-to-be-assumed". These arguments can be interpreted as suggesting that what is warranted is an approach which brings the "binary of being that embodies a hierarchy of existence" (Hughes, 2007: 681) into the research frame enabling an exploration of how non-disability is maintained as an organizing norm and reproduced in ways which contribute to the marginalization of disabled people.

Vehmas' examination of disability as a concept suggests "*disability* always takes place in social interaction, where normal people define dichotomically, in relation to themselves, persons differing from them as disabled" (Vehmas, 2004:213 emphasis in original). The defining of disability thus affirms non-disability as the obverse.

Hughes (1999:164) suggests it is vital to "problematize the perception of non-disabled actors", as their perceptions of disabled people can be

an act of invalidation. I want to argue that this act is constituted by a deficit which I will call the perceptual pathology of non-disablement. It is pathological because it is not neutral and because it thinks of itself as being so. It fails to recognize its own partiality and assumes, without warrant, the absolute clarity of its own vision... infused with the 'authority' of interconnecting discourses....[which] are immersed in mythologies of normality

Hughes' (1999) argument suggests non-disability is understood as being socially positioned as neutral or value-free, yet through the invalidation or 'othering' of disability related ways of organizing, non-disability can be recognized as partial, and value-laden. The construction of non-disability is maintained through discourses which legitimate constructions of normality (non-disability) and in doing so invalidates the disabled subject (and thus impairment) as the lesser part of a discursive binary. An implication of this perspective is to recognize that non-disability norms can be understood as shaping "institutional and inter-subjective" relations (Hughes, 2002:71).

Drawing upon Sartre and Foucault, Hughes connects the 'gaze' of non-disability with the medicalized discourse, as constructing the world it seeks to locate, and consequently, constituting disability (Hughes, 1999), as a social category or population (Hughes, 2005) which is the 'Other' to the 'One' (de Beauvoir, 1972) of non-disability.

This discussion identifies two issues for the disability studies lens developed for this thesis; the inclusion of impairment as a legitimate and recognized aspect of research into disabled people's experiences of disability, and which acknowledges impairment effects as an organizing requirement for disabled people.

2.4.5.2 Impairment effects

Bringing the body in to a disability studies lens through the concept of impairment effects (Thomas, 1999, 2004b, 2007) is one approach to addressing disabled people's experiences of impairment. Thomas (1999, 2004b, 2007) develops the concept of impairment effects to bridge the impairment and disability bifurcation of the social model as part of a social relational understanding of disability.

Thomas (2007:136 emphasis in original) suggests

at its simplest, impairment effects refer to those restrictions of bodily activity and behaviour that are *directly attributable* to bodily variations designated 'impairments' rather than to those *imposed upon* people *because* they have designated impairments

This concept acknowledges that impairments do have direct impact upon people's social lives, however, these are socially contingent, that is they require impairment to be designated as such, and it is a combination of the bodily (or cognitive) variation and the social context which contribute to disabled people's experiences of impairment effects. Rather than attempting to separate impairment and disability in disabled people's experiences, Thomas (2007) highlights the interactive outcome of impairments and social contexts encouraging an appreciation of how "impairment effects and disability interlock in unique and complex ways" (Thomas, 2004b:42) despite their separation in social model influenced research within disability studies for analytical purposes.

For Thomas (2007:137) the emphasis in developing impairment effects is to bring impairment into disability studies in a way which enables "impairment effects...[to] become the foci for social responses that exclude the bearers of impairment from full social participation and citizenship".

However, an aspect of the debate within disability studies which is absent in Thomas' (1999, 2007) conceptualization of impairment effects is the issue of disabled people's agency (Corker 1999a; Corker and Shakespeare, 2002; Fisher, 2007; Shah, 2006) in responses to impairment effects and how this may shape their requirements, expectations, and responses to social contexts. Thomas' (Thomas, 1999, 2004b, 2007) approach can therefore be read as overemphasizing structural constraints, as she attempts to develop impairment effects within a materialist framework. However, in recognizing "impairments and impairment effects are thoroughly intermeshed with the social conditions that bring them into being and give them meaning" (Thomas, 2007:153), a focus upon experiences of impairment effects within the philosophical framework of this thesis is possible, by enabling a reading which acknowledges disabled people as active in negotiating their social contexts (Corker, 1999b).

Impairment effects as a term is therefore adopted here to focus upon the ways in which disabled academics account for the effects of impairment within their career experiences, what they require and expect of the organizing contexts they encounter; appreciating that disabled academics may seek to accommodate or negate impairment effects in how they approach their careers and their expectations of organizing processes.

In adopting impairment effects as a term to understand experiences of impairment, it is recognized that impairments are not necessarily static; rather impairment effects are acknowledged, for some disabled people, to be "in a state of constant flux" (Corker, 1999a:635). As such, impairment effects are understood to be emergent and contextual, both the fluctuating nature of impairment effects and the organizing context being factors which influence what and how disabled people seek to engage with the social world, and conceptually acknowledges the potential impact of other people they encounter in organizing contexts. As Deegan suggests, impairment effects, and variable effects in particular, "becomes the site of social negotiations and legitimacy claims for altering interactions" (Deegan, 2000:273) when how one functions requires conscious choices relating to social actions and relations and may require arrangements other than those that are usually socially anticipated.

The decision to name an experience as related to an impairment effect or a disabling response to a person with impairments in some circumstances is thus understood to require an interpretive decision.

This reflects an appreciation that disabled people's experiences "occup[y] the space *between*" (Corker, 1999a:633 emphasis in original) impairment effects and social responses. For this thesis, these interpretive decisions are made specifically by research participants when narrating their experiences, and when reflexively commenting upon drafts of the interpretations presented in (re)constructions of their voices (Chapter Five). Additionally, through the authorial voice and the (re)interpretations and (re)presentation of research participant narratives (Chase, 2005) in Chapters Five and Six.

2.5 Disability and work

The extensive debates in disability studies explored in Section 2.4 over the desire to broaden research and extend social interpretations to include additional paradigmatic approaches beyond a materialist social model focus have been less prevalent in the disability and employment literature. Similarly to Hirst et al. (2004) the initial literature review on disability and work for this study highlighted the predominance of an individual interpretation of disability in the disability and work literature, with more recent disability studies influenced literature drawing predominantly upon social model interpretations.

However, despite the development of social interpretations of disability and work, few empirical studies of disabled people's experiences of work adequately address or include disabled people's experiences or voices in their analysis (Barnes et al., 1998; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Roulstone et al., 2003). Roulstone et al. (2003) suggest that research including disabled people's experiences of work has predominantly drawn upon a medical understanding of disability whilst social model influenced research has emphasized specific professions or technology.

Whilst across this limited literature there is very little research upon disabled academics' experiences, there have been some recently commissioned research reports by HEFCE (Abbott et al., 2005; Deem et al., 2005; Strebler and O'Regan, 2005) researching equality issues within HE, and by other sector wide organizations (Brunner, 2007; Lucas, 2008; NIACE, 2008) which include disabled academics' experiences within wider research projects focusing upon disabled staff. Whilst these are broadly research informed policy documents, where appropriate they are included in this chapter (and in Chapter Three) as a number of the issues raised within the reports resonate with and amplify the wider disability and work research literature.

Roulstone's (1998a/b) work on new technology and review of literature on disability and work identifies the impact of a medicalized discourse and rehabilitative focus within early research which emphasizes the correction of the disabled person/body, rather than changes to the work context where organizing processes exclude rather than include the requirements of disabled people. Such an individualized emphasis fails to recognize and alter working processes and practices, limits disabled people's participation, and suggests that in many ways the effects of standardized work processes design disabled people out of work (Roulstone, 1998a/b).

Abberley (2002:130) similarly suggests the issue of designing people out of work through assumptions based around the capacities of an average worker are problematic for disabled people amongst others

Jobs designed around the capacity, stamina and resources of the average worker, nine-to-five, five day a week employment, which have been termed 'job-shaped jobs', are incompatible with the needs of a wide variety of citizens

Such assumptions can be understood as informing organizing norms, a normative standard which regulates work processes in ways that exclude those who do not conform to inherent assumption that workers are "elite white, able-bodied males" (Harlan and Robert, 1998:399), or assumed to be "'able-bodied/minded', white, male heterosexual, young and financially secure" (Vernon, 1998:201). For Harlan and Robert (1998) appreciating that ableness normative assumptions construct work organizations, enables a focus upon, and critique of, such normative assumptions as limiting, and contests the assumption of work organization as neutral; rather arguing they should be appreciated as value laden.

Work organizations then can thus be understood as intersectionally hierarchical, where "variations on the theme of ableness in organizations" interprets disabled people's organizing requirements against normative assumptions associated with "elite White, able-bodied males" (Harlan and Robert, 1998:427). It is not surprising then, to find within reviews of disabled people's experiences of work, that despite research into work and disability, and the importance of work for disabled people, there remain "stark inequalities...[in] the social organization of work" (Barnes, 2000:447).

More recent studies of disability and work have focused upon disabled people's experiences of work drawing upon or being influenced by a social model understanding (Foster, 2007; French, 2001; Roulstone, 1998a/b; Roulstone et al., 2003) and recent studies focusing upon disability and career experiences including Shah (2005) and Wilson-Kovacs et al. (2008). Across these studies is a recognition that in many ways disabled people strategize and negotiate their work contexts in response to non-inclusive work processes and recognizes the important role of managers (Cunningham and James, 2001; Cunningham et al., 2004), colleagues and others in constructing enabling or constraining work contexts (Roulstone et al., 2003) and recognizing experiences of impairment as integral to experiences of work (Lock et al., 2005; Roulstone, 1998a; Roulstone et al., 2003).

At an organizational level, negotiating the physical environment and public transport, the range of profession-specific equipment available, administration and organization of work activities such as the organization and provision of accessible information in meetings, and the responses of colleagues and employers (French, 2001) contribute to disabled people's difficulties negotiating work contexts, to which this chapter now turns.

2.5.1 Negotiating work contexts

'Reasonable adjustments' are a key recognized formal route through which disabled people can negotiate work contexts, particularly those which operate with less inclusive work processes. However, whilst it is a legislative right to request adjustments, Foster (2007) and Harlan and Robert (1998) suggest disabled workers are often refused adjustments, directly; or indirectly through a lack of response or action. Both studies identified that requests were often dealt with informally, responses were subjectively decided upon by managers or supervisors, and often not followed up or responded to.

Cockburn (1991:206) notes disabled people "can place demands on our perceptions of jobs, workplaces and employers that, if responded to, could transform organizational life for everyone" attesting to the transformative potential of constructing inclusive work processes and practices.

However, both Harlan and Robert (1998) and Foster (2007) interpret the lack of action or willingness to adjust work practices to meet disabled people's needs as employers seeking to keep issues off organizational agendas "to discourage employees from asking for accommodations and rejecting requests they perceive as disruptive to the organization" (Harlan and Robert, 1998:426), despite most requests seeming "modest, inexpensive, and logical from an outsider's standpoint" (Harlan and Robert, 1998:426).

Additionally, Foster (2007) highlights where adjustments were agreed they were not necessarily managed, which Foster (2007) suggests can be understood as an empowerment strategy (to enable the disabled person to manage her own work), or an abdication of managers' responsibilities, a form of management "non-decision-making" (Foster, 2007:67). The role of managers in actively managing adjustments is recognized to be crucial, particularly for disabled people who experience fluctuating or unpredictable (Foster, 2007) impairment effects, when work arrangements change, and particularly managing processes when disabled people acquire impairments, as this group of disabled people risk losing work shortly afterwards (Burchardt, 2003). In work support is crucial to enabling disabled people to return to, or stay in, work post impairment acquisition (Burchardt, 2003), however, Foster (2007) suggests line managers are often poorly prepared in understanding their role in negotiating, implementing and managing adjustments for disabled staff.

This is not to suggest that managers actively seek to poorly manage disabled employees, nor that disabled employees are not able or willing to organize, manage or negotiate within non-inclusive work contexts. Rather, this understanding recognizes that managers play a key role in the achievement of inclusive work practices (Cunningham and James, 2001; Cunningham et al., 2004). Disabled people strategizing and negotiating can be understood as agentic responses, as Harlan and Robert (1998:416) suggest even when disabled people attempt to counter employers' attempts to restrict changes to organizing processes by adopting personal compensatory strategies such as a desire to "conform to normative expectations".

Additional strategies are identified in the literature. For example, working harder than non-disabled peers by overcompensating or overachieving (Barnes, 1996; French, 1998; 2001; Harlan and Robert, 1998), carefully choosing work contexts including ruling some out (French, 2001), adopting a low profile and only requesting support if absolutely necessary (Roulstone et al., 2003), using holidays or unpaid leave as a way of ameliorating the effects of working (French, 2001; Harlan and Robert, 1998) and returning to work before being fully well to demonstrate commitment (Harlan and Robert, 1998).

One of the significant implications of negotiating around, rather than requirements being met through, work organizing processes and practices are self-limiting decisions (French, 2001; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Shah, 2005; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008). French's (2001) participants inhibited their consideration of promotion due to perceived limitations to meet their requirements within their work contexts. This is an issue resonating with Harlan and Robert's (1998) study and Shah (2005) who suggests self-limiting behaviours may reflect a desire to manage work and retain control over, for example, workloads, choosing to restrict possible career options as a way of achieving this.

Across the studies reviewed, in addition to strategizing within work contexts, it was recognized that disabled people often require more time to carry out activities (Barnes and Mercer, 2005; French, 2001) than is usually allocated. Shakespeare (2006:66) suggests for some disabled people impairment is a factor that may shape the ways in which they work. For example "a seven-hour day or a five-day week, due to fatigue" may be unachievable, and this has implications for interpretations of whether disabled workers are meeting "the intensity or productivity of non-disabled workers".

Across the studies outlined above, disabled people's "personal compensations" (Harlan and Robert, 1998:415), of negotiating around non-inclusive processes and practices in order to get work done is recognized to exacerbate medical conditions. French (2001) suggests the effects of working can leak out into other areas of life, resulting in loss of non-work time or energy to ameliorate the effects of working (Lonsdale, 1990).

Barnes and Mercer (2005:537) suggest there remains a private/public divide which fails to recognize the additional 'work' disabled people do, including self-care, which takes place outside of the public gaze. Gorz (1999:3 emphasis in original) suggests that "'work' performs a *socially identified and normalized function in the production and reproduction of the social whole*" and those activities which fall outside of what is recognized as work do "not meet socially codified, *socially defined needs*".

Barnes and Mercer (2005:537) argue for the recognition of the additional time, effort and specialist skills disabled people require to negotiate social contexts which are “organized around non-disabled lifestyles”.

2.5.2 Relationships and support at work

The importance of relationships in facilitating inclusive contexts with disabled people is recognized as a contributing factor to whether disabled people are enabled or constrained at work (French, 2001; Roulstone et al., 2003; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008).

As Swain and French (2008:117) ask in their text for health professionals “How may colleagues help?”, outlining that whilst requiring support from colleagues is not restricted to disabled workers, colleagues’ contribution to constructing an inclusive working context cannot be overlooked. However, Wilson-Kovacs et al.’s (2008:715) recent study of disabled professionals highlights a lack of formal and informal support, and the “widespread unwillingness of human resources departments, immediate line managers and peers to understand, acknowledge and accommodate their needs”. Foster (2007:81) argues this can lead to the responsibility for constructing inclusive work practices remaining with disabled people. As Foster (2007:81) suggests in relation to making adjustments to work practices which meet disabled workers’ requirements, this can consequently lead to processes which are

characteristically informal and lacking in transparency...because of the informality of this process it contributes nothing to the development of broader policy-making and practice, but it robs the organization of the opportunity to learn from experiences of successful adjustments

Overall, Roulstone et al. (2003:viii) offer a comprehensive summary which explains many of the ways in which disabled people strategize work contexts, highlighting the diversity and complexity of strategies deployed and the importance of support (organizational and external) on getting on and getting by at work. Strategies employed were context specific, took time to develop, changed over time and sometimes brought risk if not carefully thought through or timed well. Support came from internal and external sources, and work based support was influenced by the organization type, and both formal (“agreed in writing”) and informal (“based largely on friendship, altruism and mutual respect”) support are recognized to be important: informal support often taking time to develop (Roulstone et al., 2003:viii).

Roulstone et al. (2003) are interpreted as surfacing the contingent and emergent nature of how disabled people experience work contexts, an important insight for this thesis.

Whilst negotiating work contexts is understood to be highly contingent and emergent, an aspect of the strategizing disabled people do is to make a decision, where possible, on whether or not to inform, or declare, themselves to be disabled, to which the chapter now turns.

2.6 Declaration, visibility and invisibility of impairment effects

The visibility and/or invisibility of impairment is a central issue in the study of declaration⁴ (Sherry, 2004). Issues around declaration, visibility, and invisibility of impairment for disabled people can be understood to operate on a number of levels: societal, individual and organizational.

On a societal level, Tregaskis highlights the sustained efforts of the DPM to make disabled people visible within mainstream society in order to support the argument for “full civil rights and social inclusion” (Tregaskis, 2004:13) in response to disabled people having been historically “politically invisible” (Leach, 1996: 89). On an individual level, declaration, visibility and invisibility is understood and researched in relation to identity, and in terms of disabled people deciding whether or not to declare an impairment to others. At an organizational level, declaration and visibility or invisibility of a disabled individual’s impairments can be considered as emerging in relation to levels of inclusion or exclusion through organizing processes and practices. That is, whether a disabled person’s requirements are met (or otherwise) or where alternative arrangements must be requested can be understood as contributing to an individual’s visibility or invisibility.

Whilst locating this thesis within the broader societal level desire for visibility and social inclusion, the emphasis in this thesis is upon the choices disabled academics make in relation to making impairment effects known, and therefore visible, or not known and invisible, and the relationship with, and impact of, organizational processes and practices upon disabled academics’ choices on declaration.

⁴ Two terms are used synonymously within the disability studies and studies of organization/management literatures in relation to disabled people’s decisions on sharing information on, and organizational attempts to monitor, disability: declaration and disclosure. Declaration is adopted within this thesis, and for consistency, where referenced authors use alternative terms, declaration is inserted, with the exception of citations where the original term is reproduced.

This draws upon an individual and organizational level focus to contribute to understanding the relevance of impairment effects, the choices disabled academics make, and their expectations of career contexts, which are now considered.

2.6.1 Declaration, visibility and invisibility debates

The visibility or invisibility of impairments and the decision to inform others is an important issue for disabled people as many impairments are invisible (Foster and Fosh, 2006) or at least not observable (Foster, 2007).

Sherry (2004:773) suggests the decision to declare disability can be understood in terms of “passing, disclosure and coming out”. Shakespeare (1996), Swain et al (2003) and others have similarly explored the notion of passing, in relation to passing as normal or non-disabled, often in the context of research into disability and identity. Whilst it is not within the scope of this thesis to follow an identity line of inquiry, it is important to acknowledge identity as an aspect of organizational life which may or may not impact upon a disabled person’s decisions to declare herself as disabled.

Stanley et al. (2007:8) suggest those disabled people with invisible impairments are more likely to have "some control and choice as to when, where, how and whether to disclose disability" than those with visible impairments. However Bowker and Tuffin (2002) highlight when interactions which are not face-to-face also offer disabled people the opportunity to decide whether or not to make any ordinarily observable impairment known to others. Bowker and Tuffin’s research suggests there was a “‘choice to disclose’ repertoire... [which]...was organised around three key resources” (2002:327). That is, how relevant is the need to declare impairment within a given context. Secondly, anonymity or withholding personal details sustains the choice to declare or not. Finally, the resource of normality; the extent to which a disabled person seeks comparability with non-disabled people, and assimilation into the dominant, non-disabled, culture, positioned as a participatory right by Bowker and Tuffin (2002). Such resources can be understood to offer disabled people opportunities and a choice, influencing their desire or willingness to declare information about impairment (Bowker and Tuffin, 2002).

When the concept of impairment effects is also considered, further complexity around visibility and invisibility emerge. For example, a disabled person who has a visible mobility impairment may experience additional impairment effects which remain invisible.

For example limits to walking, endurance and balance which fluctuate and over time progressively increase; issues Gold (2003), working as an academic anthropologist raises. Declaration in such circumstances may thus be partial (Fitzgerald, 2000; Stanley et al., 2007) where an person is observably impaired, but additional impairment effects are not declared and as such remain invisible.

Gold's (2003) experiences connect to a further factor which impacts upon the visibility or invisibility of impairments or impairment effects; progressive or fluctuating/variable impairments. The Disability Studies Quarterly (2000) special issue on in/visibility identified that for some disabled academics and research participants, the combination of variable and hidden impairments exacerbates the complexity of declaration, including what to declare, when, to whom, and the unpredictable nature of responses, including disbelief amongst those informed. Key themes across the DSQ articles address "risk, disclosure, legitimacy, empowerment" (Schlesinger, 2000;269), indicating the extent to which the invisible nature of some impairments can lead to difficult choices and negative outcomes for disabled people, including the potential for non-declaration, or seeking invisibility, leading to a lack support or understanding (Strong et al., 2000), or the further marginalization of disabled people who are arguably already silenced when disability is excluded from social contexts (Bowker and Tuffin, 2002).

Lipson, a disabled academic, highlights the wide ranging impact of experiences and responses to impairment, and the tension created when an impairment is invisible, as even when agreements are made they may be forgotten over time, or requested adjustments, based upon her experiences of what worked and what didn't, refused on the basis they lacked "science" to support their legitimacy (Lipson, 2000:320). People with invisible impairment effects may then be frustrated if they look well externally whilst experiencing difficult internal dialogues over whether or not to declare and wondering if they do whether or not they would be believed (Fitzgerald, 2000).

This literature suggests the observable nature of an impairment does not necessarily guarantee an impairment, or subsequent impairment effects are fully known and recognizes that a disabled person, potentially, has the option of declaring, withholding this information, or declaring some aspects over time, depending upon contextual factors.

As Fitzgerald (2000:294) suggests, the experiences of “hidden disabilities”, (understood in the context of this thesis as invisible impairments) is “replete with paradoxes and conundrums, many of them hidden” and disabled individuals’ decisions on how to approach the management of invisible impairment effects has implications for the management of, and response to, opportunities which arise for those individuals. The in/visibility of impairment effects within these arguments is reflected in the literature on declaration in HE, reviewed next.

2.6.2 Declaration of disability in higher education

Research into declaration of disability within HE has, until recently, predominantly focused upon disabled students (Brunner; 2007). Studies of student experiences (Baron et al., 1996; Goode, 2007; Riddell et al, 2005; Stanley et al., 2007) highlight the extent to which disabled students in HE approach declaration with some trepidation where for some students, the risks of declaring outweigh the potential benefits (Riddell et al., 2005). Similarly to Sherry’s study (2004), Stanley et al. (2007:48) highlight declaration is a “series of decisions or negotiations” for disabled people, “like coming out of the closet...it’s ongoing, it’s continuous” (2007:49), corresponding with a processual understanding of organizing. These studies support Baron et al.’s (1996:373) suggestion that declaration in HE is similar to “manoeuvres in self-defence”.

Recent studies exploring the experiences of disabled staff in HE reflect similar concerns over declaration (Brunner, 2007; Deem et al., 2005; Lucas, 2007, 2008; NIACE, 2008). Staff expressed hesitancy, concern and a lack of trust that declaration will be responded to in a positive manner (Brunner, 2007; Deem et al., 2005), and the decision to declare, influenced by the work context, makes each decision to declare unique as a person may choose “staggering of disclosure over time, the choice to only partially disclose, ‘minimisation’ of the impact of disabilities/impairments, and full ‘disclosure’” (Brunner, 2007:18). Lucas (2008:1) argues the perception in HE that disabled academics are “wholly and uniquely responsible” for “having a problem” is a factor affecting declaration, and this is reflected in the emphasis being upon staff to repeatedly request individual adjustments, interpreted here to suggest HE contexts reify an individual interpretation of disability.

Brunner (2007) suggests HE organizations must manage the process of declaration, from initial declaration to the implementation and management of adjustments and related processes, to ensure agreements are maintained and to raise disabled staff's confidence that declaring is worthwhile. However, both risk and benefits are surfaced within such discussions of declaration, to which the chapter now turns.

2.6.3 Benefits and risks of declaring disability

Declaration of disability can be understood as having a beneficial effect upon the HE organization such as enabling organizational contexts to become more inclusive through an improved understanding of disabled peoples requirements (Lucas, 2008; NIACE, 2008) leading to organizational anticipation of disabled people's requirements which in turn create more inclusive organizational contexts (NIACE, 2008).

However, there is also a theme within the disability studies literatures which identifies a range of "dilemmas and perils" (Zitzelsberger, 2005:397) associated with declaring disability (NIACE, 2008). A concern over negative responses to the declaration of disability is suggested to mediate disabled people's decision to conceal impairments (Baron et al., 1996; Bishop and Allen, 2001; Foster and Fosh, 2006; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Lucas, 2007; NIACE, 2008; Thornton, 1998), a view reflecting disabled academics' experiences of a lack of support after declaring and experiences of isolation from colleagues and peers (Lucas, 2007), and a wider concern for the impact upon limiting career prospects (Brunner, 2007; Lucas, 2007). In such a context, choosing not to declare can be understood as a protective response for disabled people who may feel vulnerable to negative responses, but then also to limit potentially positive organizational responses through lack of knowledge (Fitzgerald, 2000).

In summary, the visibility or invisibility of an individual's impairment/s is contingent upon a number of factors: knowledge of an impairment or how observable an impairment appears when meeting a disabled person face-to face, the extent to which an organizational setting is inclusive and the level of disclosure an individual disabled person is comfortable to make in any given context over time, which emphasizes the emergent nature of declaration. As such, a sharp distinction between visibility and invisibility cannot always be drawn, and can be understood as contextually contingent.

2.7 Disability and employment legislation

Anti-discrimination legislation was perceived to be an important step in achieving civil rights for disabled people (Barnes, 1992; Hurst, 2004), and a point of focus for the activism of the DPM (Corker, 2000; Oliver, 1996; Thornton and Lunt, 1997) and the disability studies community, and is therefore intrinsically connected to the politicizing impact of the DPM and disability studies (Barnes, 2000).

Barnes (1991, 1992) outlined a compelling case for anti-discrimination legislation to protect disabled people across a range of activities in social life including employment prior to the introduction of the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (DDA 1995), suggesting it would be through anti-discrimination legislation that the institutional discrimination disabled people face could be tackled.

The DDA 1995 introduced employment rights for disabled people. The legislation, once in place, was a shift away from a previous approach which relied upon voluntary measures and initiatives (Thornton and Lunt, 1997) towards an approach which made discrimination unlawful, required employers to make reasonable adjustments, and not to treat disabled people less favourably unless this could be justified. The option of employers to justify the refusal of a reasonable adjustment request is a compromise Hurst (2004) suggests has broadly been accepted to enable the development of anti-discrimination legislation. The key issue for Hurst (2004:297) is for “disabled people to be involved in setting guidance as to what is deemed ‘reasonable’”.

The DDA differs from all other, previous and subsequent, anti-discrimination legislation as it is not symmetrical (Dickens, 2007) applicable only to disabled people (Foster, 2007), and enables positive action in favour of disabled staff under particular conditions (Foster, 2007). Dickens (2007:474) suggests this differentiates the DDA 1995 from other equality legislation which requires equal treatment, and which therefore “resonates with notions of assimilation (to a male, white, heterosexual norm) and integration rather than with recognition and valuing of difference”. Therefore the DDA potentially holds promise for the recognition of disability related difference as legitimate differences.

A range of adjustments to the scope and definitions within the DDA 1995 has been made⁵, in particular a set of positive duties were introduced by the Disability Discrimination Act 2005 (DDA 2005)⁶.

Roulstone and Warren (2006:116) note

The 2005 Act is important in promising a proactive legislation that requires upfront public sector employer action plans, evidence gathering and progress reports that actively advance the position of disabled people

However, whilst there are arguments that the legislation holds promise for the recognition of disability related difference as legitimate differences within work contexts (Dickens, 2007), and that it has symbolic meaning and has been important in fighting discrimination and enhancing opportunities for disabled people (Roulstone and Warren, 2006), there is extensive criticism of the DDA and the legislations inability to affect significant change for disabled people's access to and experiences of work.

Woodhams and Corby (2007:561) note the DDA 1995 is "based on an individual rights approach, which emphasizes equality of treatment, consistency and procedural justice", therefore it may be reasonable for disabled people to draw upon a legislative discourse when assessing their employers. However the legislative framework contains within it the option for employers to perceive requests as outside the scope of the legislation, that is to be able to justify refusing a request (Dickens, 2007; Woodhams and Corby, 2007).

A range of research considering disabled people's experiences of the labour market or work includes a critique the legislation, suggesting it is failing to significantly address the exclusion, discrimination or limiting segregation experienced by disabled people (Banks and Lawrence, 2006; Foster, 2007; Jones et al., 2006; Roulstone et al., 2003).

⁵ Notably the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (Amendment) Regulations 2003 which introduced a range of amendments to the legislation addressing employment.

⁶ See Foster (2007) for a condensed overview of changes to the DDA legislation relating to employment and Lawson (2008) for detailed consideration of the reasonable adjustment aspect of the legislation. Further changes are anticipated by the Equality Bill: <http://services.parliament.uk/bills/2008-09/equality.html>

In relation to employers, Gooding (2000) summarizes a number of research reports which indicate a disappointing response to the legislation. Further research indicates there is no evidence of growth in awareness of the legislation among employers since it was introduced (Thornton, 2003), nor understanding of their responsibilities under the legislation (Foster, 2007; Lucas, 2007; Meager and Hurstfield, 2005). For example, Hurstfield et al. (2004) highlight the extent to which a misunderstanding of disability and adherence to the legislative framework led to employers perceiving disabled people to be health and safety risks. Thornton (2003) suggests that alongside patchy knowledge of the legislation there is an unwarranted complacency and reactive stance amongst employers towards anticipating, or making adjustments for, disabled staff. Hoque and Noon (2004:481) suggest that whilst there is a profusion of policies on equality in the public sector, they constitute an “empty shell”, where policies may be in place without supporting practices, or guaranteeing staff have access to such practices.

Both pre (Farish et al., 1995) and post (Deem et al., 2005) DDA 1995 the focus of equality policies in HE is orientated towards disabled students. Deem et al (2005:44) suggest this is reflected in universities’ operations if not the discursive practices of the universities in their study, highlighting staff recognition of this dissonance; “a considerable number of respondents expressed the view that equal opportunities for students was a far bigger priority than those for staff at their institution”. Duties upon universities as service providers to disabled students require that universities anticipate and incrementally improve access for disabled applicants/students in how they organize as well as meet the reasonable requirements of disabled applicants/students through the Special Education and Disability Act 2001 (SENDA, 2001) (an amendment to the DDA 1995).

A wide range of HEFCE funded initiatives has been implemented across the HE sector since 1993 as part of HEFCE’s response to the DDA 1995 and subsequent legislative changes, to make significant improvements in student access to HE (HEFCE, 1999) by anticipating disabled students requirements alongside a commitment to provide additional funding and support to enable universities in meeting the needs of disabled students (HEFCE, 2005c). However, there has not been a similar level of investment and/or emphasis upon universities to anticipate the requirements of disabled staff.

In addition, Woodhams and Corby (2003) suggest human resource managers may think contextually as well as medically (as codified within the legislation) when assessing disabled staff.

Woodhams and Corby (2003) suggest that when managers have a choice over the application of the legislation, they may be less likely to draw upon the liberal equality framework underpinning the legislation, and potentially drawn to a weaker interpretation of the legislation in their desire to achieve work requirements.

This may be supported by the reification of the individual and medical approaches to disability within the legislative framework (Corker, 2000; Roulstone et al., 2003; Woodhams and Corby, 2003; Foster, 2007) that is argued to reflect dominant discourses of disability which refract disability as inability (Woodhams and Corby, 2003; Foster, 2007). This is seen in the definitions of disability, which rely upon concepts of mental and physical functional limitation of a disabled person as distinct to normality, and the extent to which disabled people can argue they are limited in their ability to carry out day-to-day activities (French, 2001; Wells, 2003). As such the legislation requires disabled people to position themselves unfavourably to a normative standard of non-disability (DRC, 2004; Woodhams and Corby, 2003), reinforcing the notion of adjustments for disabled people being special treatment (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Robert and Harlan, 2006).

Meager and Hurstfield (2005) suggest, despite its promise, the DDA 1995 has failed to support disabled people's access to justice, a suggestion supported by Hurst (2004) and Swain et al. (2004), and in contributing to "an individualized approach to disability in organizations" (Foster, 2007:82).

The literature considering the impact and critiquing the concepts inherent in the DDA legislation suggests the importance of the legislation and the strength of the legislative discourse. The legislative discourse constructs disability and disabled people's presence in work organizing contexts as provisional, contingent upon impairment effects related ways of organizing being assessed as reasonable or fitting normative standards and expectations. The legislative discourse reinforces disability as the inversion of normality when assessing disabled people against the performance of normal day to day activities, and can be understood as contributing to "inaugurating what can be said and what is unsayable about disability" (Campbell, 2009b:131).

2.8 Involvement

The involvement of disabled staff in developing organizational responses to disabled people is a key requirement of recent additions to the DDA 2005 positive duties required of public authorities, as noted above, which include the HE sector.

Involvement is differentiated to consultation for the purposes of the duties introduced⁷, which require employers to publish a disability equality scheme which includes details of how they have involved disabled people in the development of the scheme (DRC, 2007). The DRC when talking of involvement, suggest this “requires a more active engagement of disabled stakeholders than ‘consultation’”, which should be influential and processes of involvement should be clear (DRC, 2007:6). A recent study of a sample of universities across England and Wales noted 62% failed to comply with the DDA 2005 regulations of producing a disability equality scheme, mostly due to the failure to involve disabled people adequately (DRC, 2007).

Involvement is not new to the DPM or disability studies. As Barnes (2003) suggests, the involvement of disabled people in researching disability issues is a central concern often addressed through research methodologies within the disability studies field. Involvement is similarly reflected in the concern within the DPM that the development of social policies and other disability related activities should ensure disabled people are equal partners in establishing the areas of importance to disabled people, address their views, and progress through co-production of policies which impact upon their lives (Morris, 2008). Morris suggests whilst co-production, or involvement, is not necessarily a comfortable experience, and may be difficult to work through, it is important to work with the challenges and differences which emerge through such processes.

NIACE (2008) and Lucas’ (2008) surveys of the experiences of disabled staff promote the inclusion of disabled staff in organizational responses to the DDA 2005 legislative duties outlining a wide range of examples where the reports suggest the involvement of disabled staff can have an impact upon developing inclusive organizational processes and practices.

However, both reports fail to fully address the tensions disabled academics may experience as a consequence of involvement, nor the complexity of involvement in ancillary activities which may conflict with, not be included in, or valued, as evidence for academic career development.

⁷ The DRC (2007:5) reported a sample of universities were progressing with Disability Equality Schemes and highlighted the need for a distinction between involvement which “requires a more active engagement of disabled stakeholders than ‘consultation’”, and which should be influential, with processes of involvement should be clear (2007:6).

Rather NIACE (2008) and Lucas (2008) emphasize disabled staff seeking involvement, and the need for organizations to pursue the involvement of disabled staff in implementing disability equality schemes, NIACE for example stating this is “emphatically being one of our key messages to the sector” (NIACE, 2008:116). Involvement activity related to policies is suggested to include

‘Disability Focus Group’ meetings, union-initiated ‘self organised groups’ (SOGs), including for disabled staff, ‘Equality and Diversity Forums and Steering Groups’ (NIACE, 2008;73)

And later in relation to promoting disability equality in support of the DDA 2005 duties

being active in developing Disability Equality Schemes; identifying barriers; setting priorities for action plans; undertaking impact assessments; monitoring progress; and reviewing and revising. (NIACE, 2008; 114)

The report suggests some disabled people may be reluctant to be involved, and such wishes should be respected (NIACE, 2008), however there is no discussion of why non-involvement may be a legitimate choice. In addition, the report omits any reflection upon the potential negative impact of involvement for a disabled person, for example in relation to concerns over workload. Rather, the report states "We urge lifelong learning organisations to involve disabled staff in the full promotion of disability equality" (NIACE, 2008;11).

The issue of enabling those disabled staff who want to be involved without making a general assumption that all disabled people will equally seek involvement, appears to be an important issue minimized within this literature. An additional aspect to consider is to ensure there is an appropriate cascading of equality through the organization ensuring equality is an issue for everyone, to avoid assumptions that all people of a particular perceived social group become identified as the ‘designated authority’ on matters associated with this social grouping (Deem et al., 2005). As Reynolds et al. (2001) suggest, such assumptions are an example of ‘ghettoization’, which contributes to the marginalization of disabled people in work contexts.

2.9 Chapter discussion – the disability studies lens developed for this thesis

As Deetz (1992) and Ashcraft (2004) argue, theoretical choices construct the lens through which research enables particular ways of “seeing and thinking about the world” (Deetz, 1992:66-67) and which “illuminate particular features yet remain provisional” (Ashcraft, 2004:276). Drawing upon the disability studies literature, the disability studies lens developed for this thesis aims to contribute to exploring alternative ways of thinking and speaking about disability and take this forward into organization studies.

This chapter has outlined the importance of both the social and individual interpretation discourses of disability for disabled people and researching experiences of disability. The social interpretation discourse has developed through praxis, academics and the DPM contributing to the development of theory and privileging approaches to research which takes account of disabled people's experiences, seeking to raise disabled people's voices and centring disabled people as knowledge producers. Through the development of the social interpretation discourse, the individual interpretation discourse has been named, problematized and critiqued as limiting opportunities for disabled people to engage in and shape their social worlds. Following the disability studies literature, this thesis theoretically privileges a social interpretation of disability and problematizes an individualized interpretation of disability. This approach centres a focus and critique of organizing the social world over an entitative individualized interpretation of disability as biological or functional limitations requiring medical diagnosis and treatment or rehabilitation to normative, non-disabled, expectations.

The chapter noted the growth of paradigmatic divergence within disability studies and highlighted this as offering new approaches to researching disabled people's experiences. Recent developments in critical disability studies have introduced an interest in ableism as an approach to researching the construction of disability as negated difference. Ableism is included within the disability studies lens and taken forward through engaging with wider social discourses to consider how they contribute to constructing and maintaining non-disability as an organizing norm and disability as negated difference. Feminist and gender studies within disability studies highlighted the importance of understanding how disability is constructed in relation to normative expectations of non-disability, and drawing upon de Beauvoir's (1972) analysis of categories of social relations as hierarchically ordered where disability is negated as ‘Other’ to the centrality of non-disability as ‘One’.

Feminist literature also surfaced the importance of experience and experiences of impairment for disabled people. Thomas (1999, 2007) concept of impairment effects is identified as an approach which enables the organizing requirements of disabled academics, and experiences of impairment, to be brought into research. This is taken forward in the disability studies lens to account for impairment effects upon the organizing requirements of disabled academics, and to consider how disabled academics' strategize and negotiate their social contexts in relation to/with impairment effects.

This disability studies lens recognizes disabled academics can offer insights to the experience of disability without suggesting "some kind of epistemic privilege because of their purity" as a social group to be privileged over others (Campbell, 2009b:121). Rather this thesis recognizes researching disabled academics experiences "cultivates...inferential insight[s] into the dynamics of [disability and] ableism in a way that is *distinct* from those whose lives are not infused with impairment" (Campbell, 2009b:121 emphasis in original).

The disability studies lens is outlined below in Figure 2.1 as the first part of the framework which will build across the following chapters to demonstrate the contribution of the disability studies lens to the interpretations outlined in this thesis and as a contribution to studies of organization.

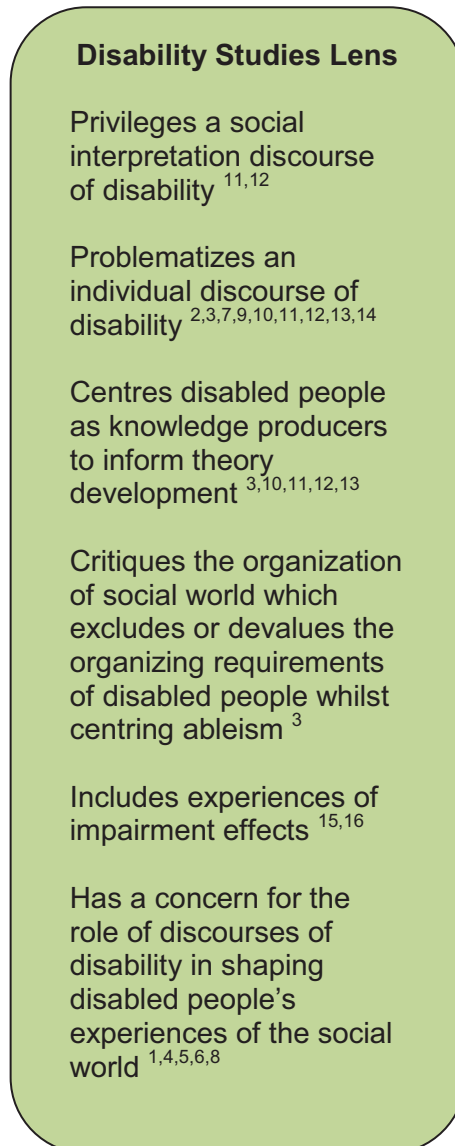


Figure 2.1 Disability studies lens developed for this thesis, drawing upon: Abberley (2002)¹, Campbell (2005², 2009b³), Corker (1998⁴, 1999a⁵,b⁶), French (2001)⁷, Goodley (2004)⁸, Hughes (2002⁹, 2007¹⁰), Oliver (1983¹¹, 1990¹², 1996¹³), Swain et al. (2003)¹⁴, Thomas (1999¹⁵, 2007¹⁶)

2.11 Chapter summary

Contributing to answering the research question “What can disabled academics’ career experiences offer to studies of organization?” this chapter has reviewed the disability studies literature to develop a disability studies lens for organization studies. The chapter outlined the development of a social interpretation of disability within the disability studies field, identifying how the social model emerged from a symbiotic relationship between the DPM and disability studies research as a rejection of an individual interpretation of disability. The social model of disability is identified as setting the broad early academic agenda for the field of disability studies and as having enabled research into the experiences of disabled people from their own perspectives, and problematized individualized interpretations of disability as biological or functional limitations.

The chapter has outlined the growing development of additional paradigmatic perspectives within the field and the subsequent inclusion of additional areas of theoretical interest; the ontological status of impairment in disability studies, experiences of impairment, and the role of language and discourse in shaping experiences, as contributions to the development of a disability studies theoretical lens. In addition to the theoretical lens emphasis of the chapter, drawing mainly from the disability studies literature the chapter also considered how disabled people strategize and negotiate work contexts, literature outlining the complexity of declaration of disability relating to the visibility or invisibility of impairment/effects, a critique of disability related legislation and the involvement of disabled people in developing organizational responses to disabled people have been reviewed.

Through this review a disability studies lens has been developed which is taken forward to Chapter Three to outline how the disability studies lens is brought together with the organization and career studies literatures to develop the theoretical framework informing this thesis.

Chapter Three – Organization studies, disability and career studies

3.1 Introduction

Following the development of a disability studies lens in Chapter Two, this chapter outlines the approach developed in organization studies and the career literature relevant to the study of disabled academics' career experiences.

To answer the research question:

- *What can disabled academics' career experiences offer to studies of organization?*

This chapter addresses the following research objective:

- *To fuse disability, organization and career studies literatures through which disabled academics' career experiences can be theorized*

The chapter begins by providing an overview of organization studies, the broad interpretive frameworks which have emerged across the field and how these relate to theoretical and organizational phenomena foci drawing upon McAuley et al. (2007) to organize the review. The chapter then locates this thesis within the organization studies literature. Through this review the gap in organization studies to which this thesis seeks to contribute will be outlined and fused with the disability studies lens outlined in Chapter Two.

The chapter will then consider career studies within organization studies, reviewing the choice of career literature which will contribute to the disability studies lens analysis of disabled academics' career experiences. The development of HE within the UK context and how this has shaped the career context of disabled academics' careers is considered, followed by a review of the boundaryless and academic career literatures, fusing these with the limited literature on disabled academic career experiences. The chapter concludes with a review of the theoretical framework through which disabled academics' career experiences will be theorized.

3.2 Organization studies

Organization studies is an academic discipline providing a body of knowledge that “describes, explains and influences what goes on in organizations” (McAuley et al., 2007xiii), that is it is concerned with both “the theory and practice of organization” (Jeffcut, 1994:225).

Organization studies is the term adopted for this thesis, although organization theory, organization science *and* organization studies are terms used to refer to the field (Jones and Munro, 2005; Clegg and Hardy, 1996; Shenhav, 2003). The term organization studies reflects an understanding that there is no one theory or approach to, or of, organization (Clegg and Hardy, 1996), rather a range of approaches which draws upon a range of differing philosophical approaches (Miner, 2006), with a concern for “organizational phenomena (both macro and micro)” (Tsoukas and Knudsen, 2003:2)⁸.

3.2.1 Emergence of the field

Whilst studies of organization and management have a longer history (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980; Scott, 2004a; Starbuck, 2003), organization studies as an academic field emerged in the 1950s, and the early field is primarily associated with the North American context (Shenhav, 2003). An early concern to develop more scientific approaches to business studies and education in North American business schools to deal with management and business problems led to the adoption of natural sciences to address concerns with improving efficiency and effectiveness, and an early emphasis upon scientism and managerialism (Üsdiken and Leblebici, 2001).

Prior to this, for a number of years practitioner theorists concerned with the design of effective organizations and producing guidance for managers, later joined by sociologists and psychologists, had established an interest in and researched organizations. Management practitioner-theorists, sociologists, and psychologist then entered business schools to develop a science of administration premised upon scientism (Üsdiken and Leblebici, 2001) to study organizations in their own right (Scott, 2004a).

⁸ For the purpose of this review organization studies will be used unless directly citing authors who use alternative terms.

Until the 1970s, Üsdiken and Leblebici (2001) suggest the North American emphasis upon scientism dominated the field, with some consensus in Europe, however since the 1970s and challenges to the domination of scientific approaches (Üsdiken and Leblebici, 2001), the field developed into two streams broadly reflecting the North American and European (and especially British) contexts. This is characterized as a complex and divergent field with scientific approaches adopting natural sciences as guiding principles more strongly associated with North America, and subjectivist approaches associated with Europe and particularly the UK (Üsdiken and Leblebici, 2001).

It is suggested that the emphasis in organization studies remains focused upon a broad concern for the functioning and management of organizations for business (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). However, there has also been growing theoretical interest in the field researching the “practices that constitute and organize” what is studied (Marsden and Townley, 1996:659), and what, and how, knowledge is produced to critique who organization studies are written of and for (Calás and Smircich, 1999; Ferguson, 1994; Willmott, 1995). This has resulted in very diverse interests and a diversification of focus growing within the field, particularly over the past twenty years (Jones and Munro, 2005), and an appreciation that organization studies is a field of “contestable and contested network of concepts and theories which are engaged in a struggle to impose certain meanings rather than others on our shared understanding of organizational life” (Reed, 2006:39).

3.2.2 Organization studies overview

This diversification in organization studies is thus characterized as having “dominant streams of thought” and some “newer modes of inquiry” (Clegg and Hardy, 1996:1). Whilst it is possible to chart the broad theories which influenced the early North American stream of the field, reviews of the field inevitably turn to consider both the meta-theoretical orientations and subsequent theoretical interests (see for example the reviews of; McAuley et al., 2007; Reed, 2006; Üsdiken and Leblebici, 2001) as the field began to broaden after the 1970s as a response to and approach to managing the complexity of the field. To understand the differing approaches to organization studies it is necessary to appreciate the varying “philosophical orientation[s]...because this is what justifies how... [theorists] engage with organizations in the way they do” (McAuley et al., 2007:28). These assumptions influence what are considered to be appropriate theoretical approaches and shape the focus of research in the field. The relationship between meta-theoretical issues, theories and foci of study is outlined in Figure 3.1 reproduced from Tsoukas and Knudsen (2003).

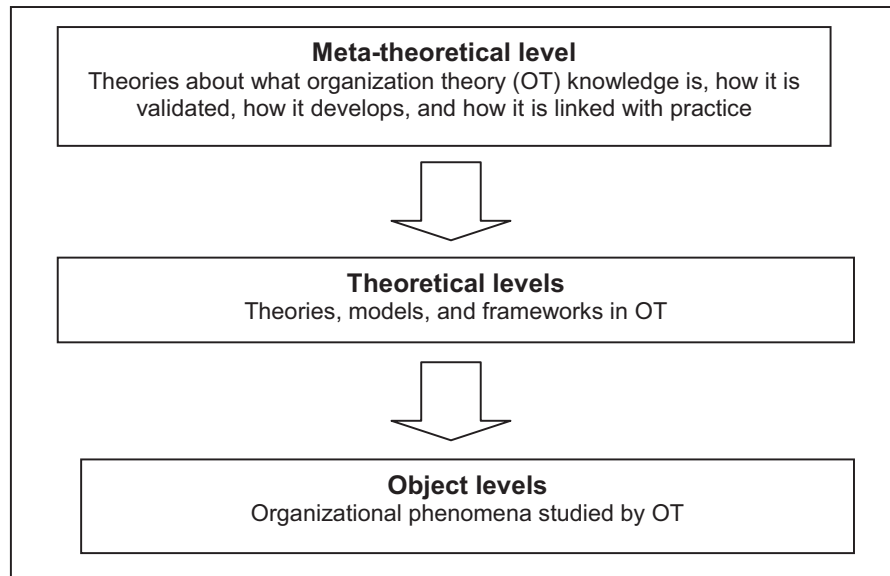


Figure 3.1 Meta-theoretical reflections in organization studies
Adapted from Tsoukas and Knudsen (2003:6).

An overview of the traditions and theoretical focus of traditions identified as contributing to the development of organization studies, drawing upon McAuley et al. (2007) as an organizing heuristic, are outlined in Table 3.1.


Organization studies meta-theoretical traditions	Theoretical concern	Potential organizational phenomena of interest
Modernist (including classical organization theory)	Organization Theory General principles ^{12,14} Organizational structural and bureaucratic design ^{4,14} Rationality, order and stability ^{6,10} Scientific approaches to management ¹⁴ Management control of organizations ¹³ Organization as a system ⁵	Efficiency of work Structuring of work Role of manager in controlling the organization of work
Neo-modernist (e.g. Human relations)	Organization Behaviour ^{9,14} Development of the organization ¹ Understanding human communication and motivation to improve organizational effectiveness ⁹ Organizational behaviour focused upon organizational improvement and management ⁸ Continued importance of management ⁶	 <p>Organizational design Organizational development Culture and culture change Leadership, motivation</p> <p>Speech acts, communication, management exercise of power</p>
Neo-modernist (new wave management)	Organizational culture as a management control mechanism ⁹	Speech acts, communication, management exercise of power
Neo-modernist reflexive (e.g.. democratic organization connecting with critical theory and psychoanalysis)	Developing organizations to achieve emotional and intellectual fulfilment of all members ^{1,9} Improved management of organizations for all members ^{1,6,11} Centrality of management focus ^{7,15} Organization as a construction ¹⁴	Management discourse and practices Performativity across a range of topics; e.g. gender, leadership, project management How the unconscious and neurosis influence organizational life
Reflective	How shared understandings of organizational life are constructed ⁹ Management ability to identify toxic aspects of organizational life ⁹ Organizational members' development of their understanding of organizational life, and how they make sense of the organizational world ¹⁵ Organization as an accomplishment ^{14,15}	Symbols, metaphors, stories, emotions and values, myths, sagas, identity construction Discourse, language and language in use
Postmodern	Anti-foundationalist ¹⁵ Plurivocality, multiplicity, variation and deconstruction ⁹ Critiques how knowledge is constructed and constitutes social relations-epistemological project ² Small narratives rather than grand theories ² Processual understanding; organizing rather than organization ³	Centrality of discourses at play in organizations, language used and how and what of which organizational members speak Silences in organization studies and silenced members of organizations

Table 3. 1 Overview of the organization studies field

Drawing upon; Alvesson and Deetz (2006)¹; Calás and Smircich (1999/2006)²; Chia (1995)³; Clegg (2007)⁴; Clegg and Hardy (1996)⁵; Clegg et al. (2006)⁶; Ferguson (1994)⁷; Jackson and Carter (2007)⁸; McAuley et al. (2007)⁹; Putnam et al. (1996)¹⁰; Spicer et al. (2009)¹¹; Tsoukas and Knudsen (2003)¹²; Üsdiken (2008)¹³; Üsdiken and Leblebici (2001)¹⁴; Westwood and Clegg (2003)¹⁵; Willmott (1995)¹⁶.

It is recognized that the development of organization studies has not been a linear or straightforward process, and understanding the development of the field as rhizomatic is perhaps more appropriate (Jackson and Carter, 2007). Ideas have developed and evolved over time, and it is difficult to provide a definitive pattern, reflecting the contested interests of the field and synthesized or combined approaches which have contributed to the field over time (Reed, 2006). The ongoing debate on organization studies is reflected, for example, in Miller et al.'s (2009:273) recent call for a return to organizational design and an emphasis upon managing, against Barry and Hansen's (2008:1) edited handbook of prospective "alternative" approaches. Despite, or perhaps in celebration of, the challenge of such plurivocality, "the intersection of multiple disciplines" (Polzer et al., 2009:285) offers opportunities to broaden the focus in organization studies (Rhodes, 2009).

Clegg and Hardy (1996:3 emphasis in original) suggest organization studies can thus be characterized as a conversation between differing perspectives, summarising these conversations as characterized by an understanding of "*organizations* as empirical objects, *organization* as theoretical discourse, and *organizing* as social processes"; terms which can be understood to reflect the meta-theoretical concerns of theories outlined above. For this thesis, organizing over organization is the emphasis taken forward. This reflects Chia's (1995) suggestion that organizations and organizing broadly reflect differences between modern and post modern styles of thinking, both of which continue to inform theorizing within organization studies, and are reviewed next to assist in locating this thesis within the field.

3.2.3 Organization studies – organization/organizing modes of thought

Chia's (1995) conceptualization of modes of thought (outlined in Table 3.2) is relevant to this review of organization studies as it highlights the range of approaches within organization studies which has had a significant impact upon organization studies theorizing and how postmodernism, whilst not wholly embraced, has influenced approaches which seek to emphasize an epistemological concern with how knowledge is constructed and the marginalization of "different theoretical 'voices'" within the field (Calás and Smircich, 1999:650) a concern and emphasis relevant to this thesis. This issue is returned to in Sections 3.3-3.3.2 below, before which modernist and postmodern modes of thought are considered to demonstrate how organizing processes and organizing are understood in this thesis.

Chia argues that modernist styles of thought emphasize the outcomes or results of organizing, rather than the “*complex social processes* that lead to these outcomes or effects” and an ontology of ‘*being*’ rather than of ‘*becoming*’ (Chia, 1995:581 emphasis in original). Such an understanding forgets that what is treated as entitative objects and a “social reality [of]...discrete, static...phenomena” (Chia, 1995:586) have emerged from social and organizing micro- practices and processes through a desire to create “order...and organization from disorganization” (Chia, 1995:599). Therefore within the modernist style of thought it is the “things, social entities and their properties and attributes” which become real (Chia, 1995:585).

A postmodern style of thought emphasizes “what is real...are not so much social states or entities, but emergent, relational interactions and patternings that are recursively intimated in the fluxing and transforming of our life-worlds” (Chia, 1995:581-2), emphasizing organizing processes of “actions, interactions, and the local orchestration of relationships...[as] the primary “stuff” of the world” (Chia, 1995:581). Citing Law (1992:387) Chia (1995:595) suggests social analysis’ function is to “explore and describe local processes of patterning, social orchestration, ordering and resistance...in order to chart the ongoing struggles and contestations intrinsic to the organizing process”. This emphasis draws attention to how a concern for organizing enables an appreciation of what is understood as organization to emerge from organizing processes, and a concern for acknowledging the constraints and conflicts that organizational members “recognize and use in organising” (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004:14).

The review of organization studies highlights the range and different perspectives which continue to make contributions to the field (Westwood and Clegg, 2003), yet which may also be argued to make the field fragmented. However, Reed (1993:175) suggests the “epistemological uncertainty, theoretical plurality and methodological diversity” of the field reflecting varying lines of inquiry contributes to, rather than distracts from, organization studies and “hold the field together”, offering a wide range of meta/theoretical approaches to adopt depending upon research interests. Taking forward this thesis’ focus upon organizing and concern for theoretical voices in organization studies (Calás and Smircich, 1999), the chapter turns to consider how this interest, fused with the disability studies lens, can contribute to developing this thesis.

Mode of thinking: different ways of looking at human structures and structuring	Epistemological orientation	Ontological orientation	Understanding of processes	Language	Intellectual priorities and theoretical preoccupations for organizational analysis
Postmodern	Concern to understand how representations are produced. Knowledge is constructed through action, interactions and relationships: emergent ephemeral, and therefore partial, and a product of the knowledge production process.	Ontology of <i>becoming</i> : reality is processual, heterogeneous and an emergent configuration of relations. Organization as a verb emerges from these relations and processes of <i>organizing</i> .	Micro-organizing processes which enact or re-enact social entities into existence, for example local orchestration of relationships which generate consequent effects – the <i>becoming</i> of things.	Language is constructive, orders experiences and organizes our understanding of the social world.	Local assemblages of 'organizations' which collectively make up social reality. Micro- organizing processes of actions, interactions, and relationships: emergence and unfoldment. Plurality in theory building. Example: gendered <i>organizing processes</i> .
Modern	Knowledge is representative: a legitimate attempt to 'mirror' 'things', 'social entities', and 'events.'	Ontology of <i>being</i> privileging thinking in terms of discrete phenomenal 'states', static 'attributes'. Organization as noun, is an entitative object.	Processes occurring <i>within</i> or <i>between</i> social entities.	Functions as representational of reality, (referring to 'things' beyond the words themselves).	Stabilized 'effects' such as 'individuals', 'organizations' and 'society': structures, culture. Cumulative theory building. Example: gender <i>in</i> organizations.

Table 3. 2 Modes of thought within organizational analysis drawing upon Chia (1995)

This thesis draws upon a postmodern style of thinking, which emphasizes organizing through a concern for organizing processes of “actions, interactions and relationships” (Chia, 1995:585). This understanding builds upon Silverman (1970) and Weick (1979). Arguing for an approach to organization studies which emphasized *organizing* over *organization*, this was a shift in thinking away from thinking of organizations as entities, or “things” (Weick, 1974:357), to recognizing the centrality of organizing processes premised upon “relationships” (Weick, 1974:357), “behaviours...assembled to form social processes that are intelligible to actors” (Weick, 1979:3), constructing organizations through activities and events (Weick, 1979). Weick (1974:358) surmises

The word, organization, is a noun and it is also a myth. If one looks for an organization one will not find it. What will be found is that there are events, linked together, that transpire within concrete walls and these sequences, their pathways, their timing, are the forms we erroneously make into substances when we talk about an organization.

Such an understanding and focus contributes to an epistemological focus to organization studies (Calás and Smircich, 1999, 2006; Ferguson, 1994; Üsdiken and Leblebici, 2001; Willmott, 1995), with a concern and critique of “how knowledges of organizing...are not simply embedded in, but also constitutive of, social relations” (Willmott, 1995:38). This perspective recognizes that to change the meta/theoretical lens changes the knowledge constructed and makes visible how social relations are conceived, particularly those which may have been seen as natural and taken-for-granted, which can then be problematized. Locating this thesis within this orientation to organization studies supports the theoretical interest in developing and integrating disability and ableism in organization studies (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993) through a disability studies lens. This is explored in detail next, followed by a synthesis between the epistemological project in organization studies and the disability studies lens developed for this thesis.

3.3 Connecting theory and ‘the world’ – writing from the margins to theorize marginalized voices in organization studies

Calás and Smircich (1999:650) argue the broadening out of approaches within organization studies and the development of an epistemological centred focus (or project) to the field have allowed “different theoretical ‘voices’ to emerge” and enabled organization studies theorists to write from the margins of the field, and of organizations. That is, as Calás and Smircich suggest (1999:650), to consider research “by and for others whose theoretical voices have seldom been represented in our scholarship”.

Such an epistemological project seeks to “‘bring into the picture’ the concerns of many others... who are often made invisible in/through organizational processes” (Calás and Smircich, 2006:286) by drawing upon other disciplines or fields, or wider social and political theories, as part of a wider acknowledgement of contributing to organization studies by working across academic disciplines or fields (Zahra and Newey, 2009).

Ferguson is similarly questioning of whose voices are heard and shape organization studies, highlighting the "slipperiness and complexity" of the locations from which organizational studies issue, suggesting the "interpretive domain...is implicitly male/masculine, white/western and bourgeois/managerial" (Ferguson, 1994:89). Yet these locations do not "attach themselves in any linear or inevitable way to men, whites or managers; they instead mark a set of hermeneutic spaces, linguistic practices and political agendas that are coded in decipherable ways by gender, race and class" (Ferguson, 1994:90).

This reflects the view of gender and other categories of social relations as marking differences which are “social doing[s], a mechanism for organizing” (West and Zimmerman, 2009:114), attesting to the value of “[g]endering, coloring and classing organizational studies...to create spaces for other perspectives and practices to make their appearance and do their work” Ferguson (1994:90). Ferguson (1994) suggests that taking forward this interest in organizationally and theoretically marginalized people requires working with their voices and their perspectives to consider how social distinctions are discursively maintained through organizing processes and practices, whilst some actions are legitimated (Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) in ways which reflect normative assumptions privileging social locations such as "male/masculine, white/western and bourgeois/managerial" (Ferguson, 1994:89).

3.3.1 Writing from the margins in organization studies – gender and race

Gherardi (2003) outlines how gender as a category of social relations, and as a theoretical and conceptual lens, has been drawn upon across a range of research programmes in organization studies. For example; making women visible as research subjects, gendering organizational analysis which emphasizes how “organizations...are ‘artificially’ shaped in specific ways...[which] in their turn contribute to the construction” of organizational members (Alvesson and Billing, 2009:5), and deconstructing organization studies classic texts to ‘revision the field’ and change how theorists think about and teach such classic texts (Calás and Smircich, 1992).

Gender as a category of social relations (Gherardi, 2003; Scott, 1986), is recognized as “an important part of our analyses of organization” (Linstead and Pullen, 2008:541), and a “central analytical category” for organization studies (Calás and Smircich, 2006:284). Gherardi’s (2003:212) review of gender and organization studies highlights how the concept of gender has “given visibility to, and thereby enabled the investigation of, a social reality that was previously ‘non-existent’ because it was not part of theoretical awareness”.

Other categories of social relations, for example race, have made some limited progress (Cox, 2004; Mills et al., 2005) since Nkomo (1992:487) argued race was a “necessary and productive analytical category to theorize about organizations”. Both Cox (2004) and Mills et al. (2005) argue for the ongoing development of race/ethnicity as categories for analysis in organization studies. However, whilst some progress has been made with gender and race, Mumby (2008:27) suggests there is “a dearth of theory and research that has systematically addressed issues of...able-bodiedness, and so forth” as “both medium and product of organizing processes”.

3.3.2 Writing from the margins in organization studies – connecting disability and organization studies

The review of organization studies for this thesis similarly to Mumby (2008) highlighted a theoretical gap on disability and ableism, in the epistemological critique of organization studies with a lack of focus upon disabled people as members of a hierarchical category of social relations in the theorization of organizing or organizations. This is despite the epistemological project concern to enable “different theoretical ‘voices’ to emerge” (Calás and Smircich, 1999:650) and the suggestion that an initial focus upon gender, race and class could extend out to other categories of social relations, for example as argued by Calás and Smircich (1999; 2006) and Ferguson (1994).

This includes an absence within studies of intersectionality, the study of how social categories such as race, gender and disability intersect to shape people’s experiences, where disability and ableism may have been progressed. This reflects intersectional studies recognition that there are “multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations” (McCall, 2005:1771) which are understood to intersect, and through which organizational hierarchies can be explored (Essers and Benschop, 2009). The review for this thesis highlighted how organization studies intersectional studies concerned with organizational hierarchies and categories of social relations offer a limited theoretical engagement with disability.

This is reflected in Acker's (2006:445) limited engagement with "physical disabilities" in her review of intersectionality and inequality suggesting "physical inabilities" are less of a concern in intersectional studies of inequality, as "physical inabilities" as a social difference is not as "thoroughly embedded in organizing processes as are gender, race and class" (Acker, 2006:445). Acker's (2006:445) approach in talking and thinking about disability as "physical disabilities" and "physical inabilities" suggests a limited individualized and essentialist conception of disability.

Harlan and Robert (1998) argue that whilst a range of literature on organizations and work is concerned with the experiences of those included in the social categories of gender, race and class, they are only tangentially connected in the study of disability, disabled people and the disability studies field. In response to this identified gap Harlan and Robert (1998:428) argue for the integration of "disability into theories of the...interpretation of organizations", to "disturb" organizations, rejecting the assumption of the neutral organization, and the recognition of organizations as value laden. Ableness normative assumptions are identified to construct work organizations and are reflected in organizing processes such as "the everyday world of decision making [and] interpersonal interactions" (Harlan and Robert, 1998:398).

This view reiterates Hearn and Parkin's (1993:154) concern for the development of disability as a "key concept in analysing organizations" alongside establishing a concern for how "organizational mores and agendas" are established by and around the norms of those constructed as "able-bodied" (Hearn and Parkin, 1993:158) as a productive ways to develop theory. Through such theoretical concerns the marginalization of disability to the private, individual, sphere can be challenged (Hearn and Parkin, 1993). That is, disability should be understood to emerge through a category of social relations in relation with non-disability, rather than being perceived as an essentialized (Swain et al., 2003), individualized problem (Oliver, 1990) and negative ontology (Campbell, 2005, 2009b; Hughes, 2007). Such an approach recognizes that disability is always present, constructed as 'Other', in talk of normalcy, normality, and how things are (Campbell, 2005; Hughes, 2007).

The literature review carried out for this thesis was unable to locate any substantive inquiry addressing disability, disabled people or ableism as part of an epistemological, ontological or theoretical critique of organization studies, to inform organization studies beyond the preliminary work of Hearn and Parkin (1993) and Harlan and Robert (1998).

This affirms Foster's (2007:79) recent identification of a narrow approach to researching disability across business studies, noting the focus upon a managerial or organizational perspective on how to "manage' disabled employees" (Foster, 2007:79). Similarly reflecting Mumby's (2008:27) suggestion of "a dearth of theory and research address[ing] able-bodiedness" which goes beyond the usual focus upon how different identities are discursively constructed, to consider how difference is both "medium and product of organizing processes" and the implications of difference in organizational life (Mumby, 2008:27).

This suggests little progress has been made since Hearn and Parkin (1993) and Harlan and Robert's (1998) argument that the study of disabled people, disability and ableism can enable insights which contribute to the development of the epistemological project concerned with marginalized voices (Calás and Smircich, 1999; Ferguson, 1994) in organization studies, particularly when appreciating disability as constructed difference through, and an outcome of, organizing processes (Mumby, 2008; West and Zimmerman, 2009) premised upon ableism (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993) . This suggests the social reality of disabled people can be understood to be theoretically invisible (Gherardi, 2003) within the epistemological project of organization studies where a concern for different voices and different knowledge producers to be made visible is expressed (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994).

How academic disciplines engage with disability is a concern within disability studies, where the theoretical value of taking "both the issue of disability and the experiences of disabled people seriously in their own right rather than marginal to both theoretical developments and empirical work" is surfaced (Oliver, 1990:x). It is argued here that what Oliver (1990) and subsequent disability studies scholars have sought is a political and strategic change (Hardy, et al., 2001) in the disability discourse across academic disciplines and professional practices from dominant individual discourses on disability to new social interpretation disability discourses as developed within disability studies and outlined in the disability studies lens developed through Chapter Two. This would require moving beyond considering disability "an unproblematic category for analytic purposes" (Oliver, 1990:x), to consider how disability and ableism are the medium, and emerge as products, of organizing processes (Mumby, 2008).

3.3.3 Fusing the disability studies lens with the epistemological project in organization studies

This thesis therefore seeks to begin to address the gap in the literature through the development and explication of the disability studies theoretical lens (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Davis, 2002; Deetz, 1992; Erevelles, 2005; Ferguson, 1994; Zahra and Newey, 2009) outlined in Chapter Two, as a contribution to organization studies.

This is arguably part of an epistemological project (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006), which questions the construction of knowledge of what “appear[s] as normal, natural... ‘just the way things are’” (Ferguson, 1994:84), and “brings into the picture” (Calás and Smircich, 2006:286) and makes visible the social reality of disabled academics. It is through the disability studies lens social interpretation of disability including ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hughes, 2007), drawn together with the epistemological project (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994) within organization studies, that this thesis takes forward this concern. This requires an “ontological reframing” (Campbell, 2008b:2), which widens the theoretical lens from focusing only upon disability as disablism (Simmons et al., 2008), the differential, negative treatment of disabled people (Campbell, 2009b; Thomas, 1999), to consider how disability emerges through social interactions (Simmons et al., 2008) and includes a concern for how non-disability is maintained as an organizing norm through ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994). This theoretical interest is explored through the career experiences of disabled academics.

Researching with a disability studies lens and drawing upon the epistemological project in organization studies to understand disabled academics’ experiences, this thesis acknowledges it is writing from the margins in organization studies (Calás and Smircich, 1999), to support the surfacing of disabled academics’ career experiences as a contribution to organization studies, shown in Figure 3.2 below.

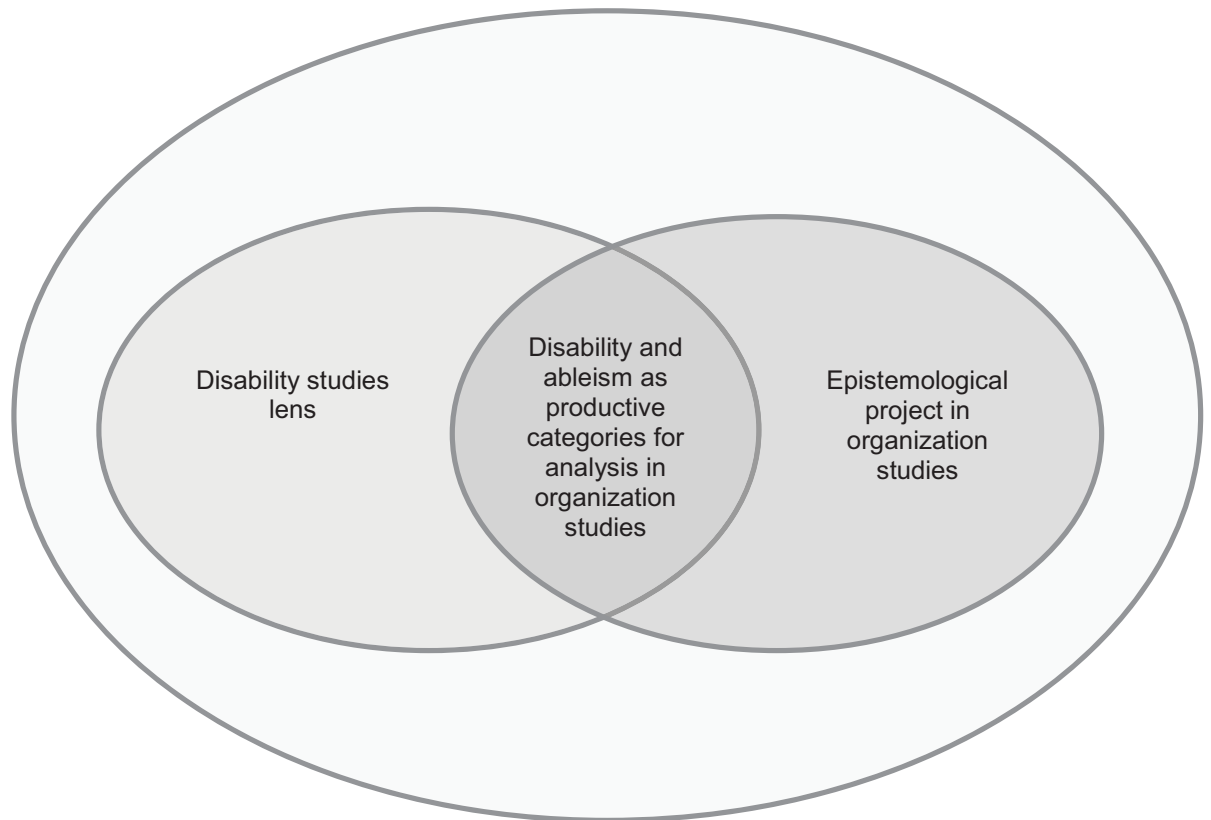


Figure 3.2 Fusing the disability studies lens and the epistemological project in organization studies

Drawing upon Ferguson (1994) and Chia (1995) the thesis emphasizes a processual, emergent understanding of organizing and how disabled academics' career experiences are discursively constructed through the "micro- and macroaspects [sic] of organizations" (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004:13); as wider social (macro) discourses are drawn upon in daily (micro) interactions, and these discourses constitute organizing through shaping the taken for granted in organizing processes and practices.

This thesis understands organizing processes to be the micro-practices and patterning of the "actions, interactions and relationships" (Chia, 1995:585) organizational members engage in, expectations of organizing practices emerging from these interactions, and through which organizations are constructed (Ferguson, 1994; Mumby and Clair, 1997).

Taking forward this approach with organization studies, the disability studies lens will be explicated through the boundaryless and academic career literatures. The choice of career studies is to address the identified gap in career studies engagement with disability and disabled academics detailed below in Section 3.4.1. In addition, this is also partially a reflexive response to early interviews with research participants (detailed in Chapter Seven, Section 7.3.3).

3.4 Career studies

Career studies as a “subfield of social science inquiry”, contributes to the “transdisciplinary study of people at work” (Arthur et al., 1989c:20). Collin (1998:413) suggests there are two main areas of academic study; one “concerned with career choice, education and counselling”, the second, relevant to this thesis, concerned with organizational careers, and the organization of work, an approach which is relevant to and incorporated within organization studies.

Barley (1989) notes career was a concept in the study of organization as early as 1950s, however it was not until after the 1970s that a career subfield within organization studies emerged (Arthur et al., 1989c). Whilst initially a focus of study within the US organization studies field, since the 1990s, and the development of the boundaryless career concept, there has been an increase in career studies within European organization studies (Mayrhofer et al., 2004). The boundaryless career has particular resonance for this study, as it is associated with the characteristics of an academic career (Baruch and Hall, 2004b).

Within career studies there has been a growth of interest in approaches which account for subjective career experiences, which have begun to move the field away from a previously dominant engagement with positivist individualized and entitative approaches to career (Arnold and Jackson, 1997; Collin and Watts, 1996; Collin, 1998; Collin and Young, 2000) to focusing upon how careers emerge in their organizing context and the meanings emerging from social interaction and career experiences. This shift reflects the development of approaches to organization studies (Collin, 1998), and the orientation of this thesis.

Dany et al. (2003) and Cohen et al. (2004) argue that career research has “conceptual power” when it is carried out in ways which maintain a concern to recursively connect “the individual to the wider changing social world” (Cohen et al., 2004:409), paying attention to social processes (Dany et al., 2003). New career studies are recognized as having the potential to make an important contribution to organization studies where the focus is upon developing an approach which has a concern for “how social action and social structures intertwine” (Barley, 1989:42; see also Brooklyn Derr and Briscoe, 2007).

Cohen and Mallon (1999:329) suggest

A study of career orients attention not only to the external features of working lives – the posts, the promotions and organizational and occupational career structures but also to how the individual perceives them and the relationship between the two.

Arthur (2008:166) suggests since the 1970s, career studies within business and management schools have historically been interdisciplinary and orientated towards understanding the "relationship between" people and their organizational context. Arthur (2008:165) argues for further inter-disciplinary research "to hear other voices with something to say about contemporary career phenomena".

Within career studies there have been repeated calls for career theory to become more inclusive, reflecting different social groups' experiences and different national contexts (Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Marshall, 1989; Mavin, 2001; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Sullivan, 1999). Pringle and Mallon (2003) specifically argue that for career theory to develop, there must be engagement with those whose voices have hitherto been unheard, reflecting Prasad et al.'s, (2007) suggestion that the career experiences of those people argued to be marginalized within their organizing contexts offer insights into their organizational and workplace experiences, which resonates with the epistemological project (Calás and Smircich, 1999; Ferguson, 1994) in organization studies outlined in Section 3.3 above.

This thesis therefore takes forward the theoretical interest in exploring disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis in organization studies through career studies and the disability studies lens and literature, with a particular focus upon the boundaryless and academic career literatures and an interest in the career boundaries experienced by disabled academics. The fusion of these literatures with the disability studies lens and literature to pursue this theoretical interest is represented in Figure 3.3 below.

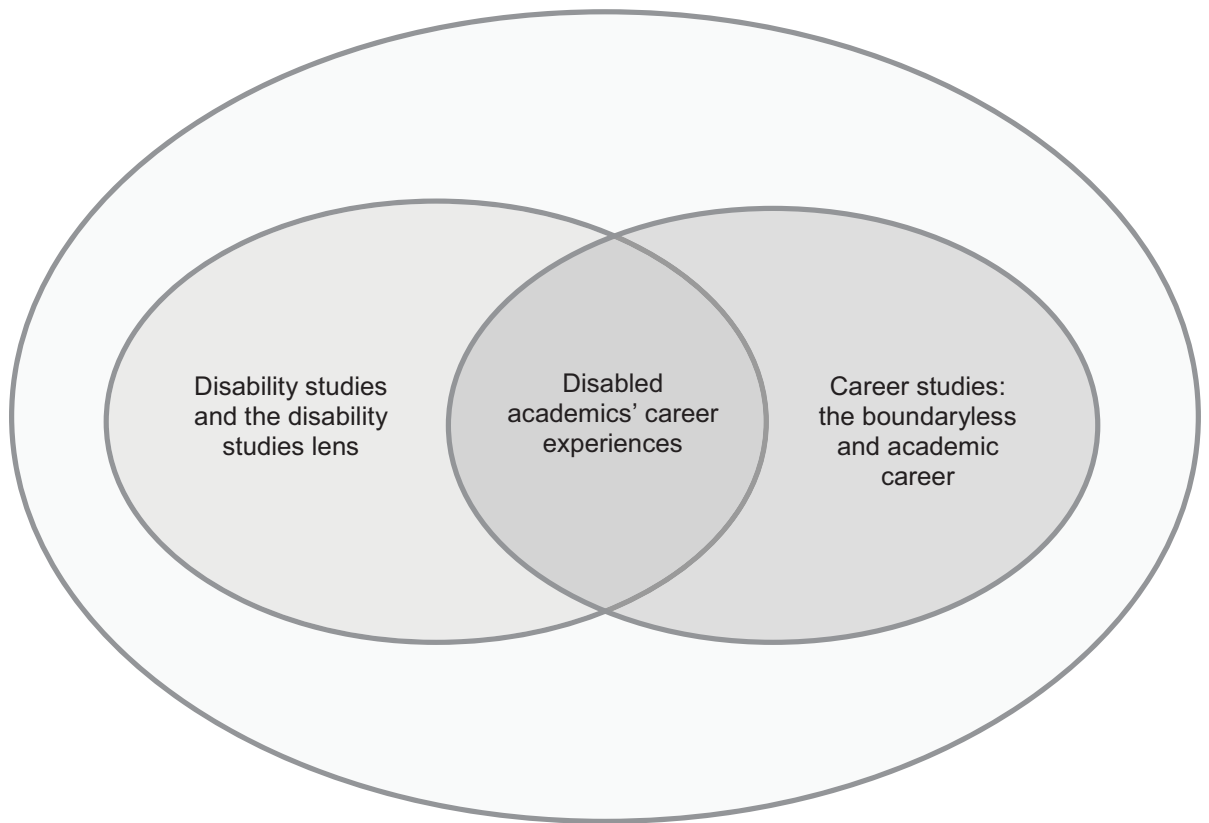


Figure 3.3 Fusing disability studies and career studies literatures

3.4.1 Studies of disability within career studies

The review of career research for this thesis highlighted research addressing marginalized people's work, career and employment experiences, did not reflect the disability studies field emphasis upon disabled people's voices as an approach to understanding their work and career experiences. Whilst social class, gender and race are recognized as "classical contextual categories" within career research (Mayrhofer et al., 2007:223), however disability is largely absent, subsumed into the category of the social marginalized, for example in Prasad et al. (2007), lacking the depth of exploration which other categories of social relations have received.

A limited range of recent studies are concerned with disabled people's career experiences including Salomone and O'Connell's (1998) study of the career development of disabled people with multiple sclerosis, Shah's (2005) research on the career experiences of disabled high flyers, Noonan et al.'s (2004:68) study of the career development of successful women "with physical and sensory disabilities" and Fabian et al.'s (2009) study of barriers to accessing vocational rehabilitation career services.

Whilst these studies begin to surface disabled people's experiences of career, identifying some career barriers encountered, no study has sought to surface disability and ableism conceptually within career studies, or adopted an emergent understanding of the role of discourse in constructing, reproducing and maintaining organizing processes which legitimate those career barriers experienced.

This limited engagement with disabled people and their career experiences is also reflected in the academic career literature where research which addresses disabled academics' careers experiences are very limited, reflecting the wider mainstream career literature, argued by Shah (2005) to be premised upon assumed non-disability. A limited number of recent studies in disability studies and career studies fields which have focused upon disabled professionals' career success factors have included one (Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008) or two (Shah, 2005) disabled academics within their studies, however, there are no studies focused upon disabled academics' career experiences.

3.4.2 Disabled academics' career experiences across disciplinary literatures

A small literature is dispersed across disciplinary literatures, where disabled academics include their own career experiences within discipline specific journals. Chouinard and Crooks (2003), Gold (2003), and Guelke (2003), for example, publishing in the *Canadian Geographer*. Disabled academic women have published in feminist literature on their own and disabled women's experiences of the HE sector; French (1998), Gibson (1996) and Iantaffi (1996). Within the broader HE literature Trowler and Turner (2002) include disabled academics in their study, and two auto-ethnographic papers from Tidwell (2004) and Woodcock et al. (2007), and Campbell et al. (2008) focus upon D/deaf academics career experiences. Within the UK disability studies field disabled academics have included some insights into their career experiences within their publications; for example Barnes (1996) French (1998), and Shakespeare (2006). Vance (2007) edited an international anthology focusing upon disabled people working in HE in the US.

Across this literature, there are no empirical studies focusing solely upon disabled academics without an emphasis upon a specific impairment type (deafness), and none of these have focused upon making a contribution to the boundaryless career. Whilst the extant literature acknowledges academic careers are mediated by gender, race and class (Blaxter et al., 1998a) and recently age (Strike and Taylor, 2009), the review for this thesis identified a gap in the boundaryless and academic career literatures of a limited engagement with disabled academics' careers.

3.4.3 Career concepts

With a focus upon contemporary organizational careers (Arthur et al., 1989a; Arthur, 2008), career studies cover a broad range of concepts and theoretical positions (Arthur et al., 1989b; Arthur, 2008; Dany et al., 2003; Peiperl and Arthur, 2000; Peiperl and Gunz, 2007). Following Dany et al. (2003) and Peiperl and Arthur's (2000) acknowledgment of the plethora of career theory from which to draw, and the need for theory to engage practically with experience to be meaningful, the boundaryless career concept is adopted for this study.

The adoption of the boundaryless career concept is influenced by its association with the academic career, and the conceptual interest in career boundaries. The academic career is argued to have a strong fit with the boundaryless career, and it is suggested that the academic career can "serve as a "role-model" to the boundaryless career concept (Baruch and Hall, 2004b:242). In addition, the boundaryless career literature has developed in a way which surfaces the importance of considering career boundaries, and how these enable or constrain careers (Gunz et al., 2000; Gunz et al., 2007; King et al., 2005; Pringle and Mallon, 2003). This connects with the concern for, and use of, the concept of barriers within disability studies literature and the literature exploring disabled people's experiences of work outlined in Chapter Two. These issues are expanded upon in the discussion of the boundaryless career concept and the review of the academic career literature below.

3.4.4 Boundaryless career

The boundaryless career is the antonym of the bound career; the assumption of stable employment and careers within one, or a limited number of organizing settings; assumptions which have dominated career research agendas (Arthur, 1994; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). The boundaryless career is conceptualized as "independen[t] from, rather than dependen[t] on, traditional organizational career arrangements" (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996:6). The broad understanding of career associated with the boundaryless career is "*the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time*" (Arthur et al., 1989c:8 emphasis in original). This is an inclusive understanding of career; inclusive to anyone who works, inclusive of experiences of unpaid-work, and is non-assumptive about what career success might mean (Arthur, 2008). As such, career can be understood as the sense people make of their job experiences and transitions over a life time (Nicholson and West, 1989).

Developing the concept of the boundaryless career was an attempt to include the study of careers within less predictable and market driven contexts.

Additionally, to open career research to researching differing career forms which reflected the self-organization of those seeking careers to move inter-organizationally and who were not reliant upon or restricted by careers premised upon vertical and linear progression, provided or managed within one organization (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). However, despite a range of research highlighting “inter-firm mobility” within these changed contexts, career research continued to focus upon single organizing contexts which emphasized “stability, hierarchy, and clearly defined job positions for career progression” (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994:307). These were considered bound careers (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996), careers which were expected to unfold within a single or limited number of organizing contexts and which were premised upon organizations facilitating the hierarchical progression of people across a career life.

The traditional, or bound career, as a normative model for career is argued to be an ideal type (King et al., 2005), aspirational rather than a reality for most people, available to, and accessed, by an elite rather than available or expected for all (Collin and Watts, 1996). A range of authors argue the traditional career is modelled upon normative assumptions associated with male, white and middle class people (Arthur et al., 1989a; Gallos, 1989; Marshall, 1989; Mavin, 2001; Thomas and Alderfer, 1989). At a foundational level, the boundaryless career is “a sequence of job opportunities that goes beyond the boundaries of any single employment setting” (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1996: 116). This enables a holistic understanding of career over time, which includes what might otherwise be considered “disconnected” (Arthur, 2008: 167) career experiences, opening boundaryless career theorizing to explore those whose career experiences do not conform to normative assumptions.

Littleton et al. (2000) suggest a boundaryless career is characterized by an expectation to be involved in a myriad of relationships and exchanges, negotiations and social interdependences across a range of networks. This understanding is taken forward through a concern for both objective and subjective aspects to career, and maintains a link with early career research in the 1950s (Barley, 1989) and 1970s (Arthur, 1994) which also maintains a concern for researching careers across all work roles (and associated life experiences); accounting for time in the emergence of career; the importance of inter-disciplinary approaches to career research, and understanding careers as both subjective (individuals’ perceptions of their career) and objective (institutional, organizational or societal expectations of careers) (Arthur, 1994).

3.4.5 Developing the boundaryless career

Sullivan's (1999) review of career literature, drawing upon Arthur (1994) identified key issues for boundaryless career research suggesting there were areas requiring empirical and theoretical development. Whilst Sullivan's review was some ten years ago, a number of the issues highlighted remain current, and are reflected in more recent critiques of the boundaryless career concept. These critiques together with key issues identified by Sullivan (1999), are explored below.

3.4.6 New employment conditions

There is a concern within the career literature that there is insufficient knowledge about new employment conditions and what these may mean for people's careers, employment relationships or organizational responses to these conditions (Dany et al., 2003). This concern is related to whether the boundaryless career concept extends beyond the US (Hirsch and Shanley, 1996), and whether the claims upon which the concept developed can be established (Inkson, 2006) which requires a broadening of the range of empirical research (Dany et al., 2003; Eby et al., 2003; Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Pringle and Mallon, 2003).

Sullivan and Arthur (2006) suggest the versatility of the concept is less about whether a person *has* a boundaryless career as it is about assessing mobility. Inkson suggests the efficacy of the concept is better understood in terms of its resonance with "contemporary changes in organization" (Inkson, 2006:58) and its adoption as a research framework in a range of career studies.

3.4.7 Boundaryless careers and minorities

Whilst the career literature Sullivan (1999) reviewed had begun to research non-traditional careers (those careers which are not based within one or two organizations nor assume linear and hierarchical progression), further theory building and empirical research is argued to be needed to better understand the complexities of career contexts, particularly "the career experiences of racial minorities, the disabled, gays and lesbians, and the working poor" (Sullivan, 1999:478).

More recently, Dany et al. suggest boundaryless career research goes some way towards such inclusivity by reminding researchers that careers "reflect a wide variety of personal stories and can occur both within and beyond the boundaries of an organization" (Dany et al., 2003:706).

A concern to balance the strength of the boundaryless career concept (Inkson, 2006) to ensure theoretical developments do not marginalize those whose careers do not, or no longer, correspond to the new career concept (Dany et al., 2003; Hirsch and Stanley, 1996; Pringle and Mallon, 2003), requires researchers to work with difference rather than attempting to produce a homogenized theory of career (Pringle and Mallon, 2003). Whilst diversity, women's career experiences and race have received some attention within career studies (Brooklyn Derr and Briscoe, 2007; Mayrhofer et al., 2007; Prasad et al., 2007), the review for this thesis identified disability remains under conceptualized and under researched across the field and across the boundaryless career literature.

3.4.8 Responsibility for boundaryless careers

There is a concern that responsibility for careers, within interpretations of contemporary careers, may no longer be associated with organizations (by organizations) and overly tied to the individual thereby shifting career related risk away from an organization to the individual (Hirsch and Shanley, 1996).

Collin (1998:421) reminds career researchers to appreciate careers are “not individual but contextual and relational”, connecting to Arthur and Rousseau's (1996) assertion that careers emerge processually, constructed and being reconstructed through an interplay of people, networks and processes of organizing. Careers are therefore recognized to unfold through co-operation within organizing contexts (Marshall, 1989). This suggests that the balance to be maintained is to retain an understanding of the intent of the boundaryless career concept to maintain both subjective and objective aspects of careers, whilst career research may have drifted away from this orientation (Gunz et al., 2007; Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). Redressing this requires a consideration of the inter-dependencies or interactions between the organization and the individual (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Duberley et al., 2006; King et al., 2005), understanding career “as an interstitial concept, residing somewhere between an individual and a collective level of analysis” (Bailyn, 1989:477).

3.4.9 Inter-disciplinary research and the boundaryless career

Additionally, there is a need for more inter-disciplinary research to explore the possibility of different disciplines bringing new insights to research upon career processes (Sullivan, 1999). Arthur's (2008) recent call for inter-disciplinary career research attests to the currency of Sullivan's insight. Arthur (2008) argues for increased inter-disciplinary research to broaden the focus of career phenomena.

3.4.10 Career boundaries

Sullivan (1999:477) suggests the name for the boundaryless career concept is a “misnomer”; boundaries are an organizing necessity, and to claim boundarylessness is somewhat misleading. As social constructions it is unlikely that boundaries are any less constructed now than in the past and the issue is not so much whether boundaries exist or not, but “how and where people draw boundaries in the world of work” (Barley and Kunda, 2001:78). When analyzing careers at an individual level, it is more a matter of exploring the boundaries careers cross (Peiperl and Gunz, 2007), requiring a shift to researching the ways in which career boundaries “need to be negotiated in an ongoing way” (Pringle and Mallon, 2003:847) and the range of boundaries which shape the careers of those studied (Bagdadli et al. 2003; Cohen and Mallon, 1999; King et al. 2005; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Gunz et al., 2000; Gunz et al., 2007).

It is recognized that career boundaries exist, even in “ideal-type” industries (Bagdadli et al., 2003:789), those industries typically associated with boundarylessness (Bagdadli et al., 2003; King et al., 2005), as there are always some constraints upon what can be achieved within different career contexts (King et al., 2005). Gunz et al. (2007:475) suggest boundaries are a core component to a career, they shape careers and “are as real as the actors experiencing or managing make them...in this they resemble other forms of social boundaries”. These studies highlight the importance of researching career boundaries and the extent to which career boundaries shape career experiences across a range of contexts.

3.4.11 Permeability of career boundaries

Sullivan (1999) suggests a key issue the boundaryless career literature has surfaced is the permeability of career boundaries. Gunz et al. (2000) and Gunz et al. (2007) highlight the importance of the constructed nature of career boundaries and the interplay of the expectations and perspectives of both the careerist and those people within their career contexts with whom they interact. This understanding leads to an appreciation that careers are influenced by the perspectives of other occupational or organizational actors who may act as gatekeepers, where their subjective occupational or organizationally related expectations may determine whether or not they support a person in their career pursuits, and enable or prevent a career boundary to be crossed (Gunz et al., 2000, 2007; King, 2001). Responding to such boundaries may require moderation of career projects or alternative career aspirations to be identified (King, 2001).

The permeability of organizational career boundaries may not be public knowledge, and asymmetrically perceived by different actors, depending upon their social location. The permeability of career boundaries is argued to be effected by a wide range of influences, including social group membership and experiences of marginalization, recognized by Gunz et al. (2007) to include race or sex and social class. Gunz et al. (2007) are therefore emphasizing the constructed nature of career boundaries which can both constrain or enable careers and which shape organizing processes and expectations for different career actors.

For example, constraints may be gatekeepers (King, 2001), ideological career boundaries (Cohen and Mallon, 1999), nation context (Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Pringle and Mallon, 2003) and gender, or ethnicity (Pringle and Mallon, 2003). When discussing career boundaries it is also important to note that boundaries can be “creative spaces for negotiation and opportunity” (Eaton and Bailyn, 2000: 194), and be understood as supporting people in “making sense of one’s place in the world” (Gunz et al., 2000:50). Gaining an understanding of people’s perceptions of career boundaries as enabling or constraining career experiences is argued to contribute to the analysis of careers (Pringle and Mallon, 2003).

The literature reviewed in Chapter One highlighted a critique of the term barriers (Shakespeare, 2006) drawn upon within disability studies literature to emphasize socially imposed restrictions (Thomas, 2007) as reflecting an overly structural emphasis. Considering both the subjective and contextual aspects of disabled academics’ career experiences by drawing upon the concept of career boundaries (Gunz et al., 2007) enables this thesis to include both the subjective experiences of disabled academics and contextual factors contributing to either enable or constrain their career experiences.

3.4.12 Section summary

The boundaryless career, whilst arguably aspirational (Pringle and Mallon, 2003), has been outlined as a relevant approach to researching career experiences (Arthur, 2008). It remains an enduring metaphor informing career research (Inkson, 2006) and open for the discovery of new possibilities (Briscoe and Hall, 2006) as an inclusive career concept (Pringle and Mallon, 2003) enabling fresh perspectives upon career experiences (Arthur, 2008). The boundaryless career requires further empirical studies and theorization through engagement with more diverse populations and contexts (Pringle and Mallon, 2003), yet since Sullivan’s 1999 call for further engagement with disabled people’s career experiences, there remains a lack of engagement with disabled people’s career experiences within boundaryless career research.

In staying with the boundaryless career concept to study disabled academics' career experiences I follow Brooklyn Derr and Briscoe's (2007) recognition of social contexts of career as an important concern for career research and Pringle and Mallon (2003:850) who emphasize the importance of studying perceptions of boundaries, and social contexts in developing the boundaryless career, and who surmise

Studying constructions and perceptions of boundaries and boundary crossings opens to view the complex, dynamic, and indeed changing, concept of career. In doing so it highlights the concept's analytical potential for studying the interaction of individual, organizational and social worlds.

This thesis therefore aims to contribute empirically to the growing literature on the boundaryless career by studying disabled academics, a 'novel' site of investigation, and theoretically, by contributing to the development of the boundaryless career concept through the identification of career boundaries experienced by disabled academics.

3.5 Academic career literature

3.5.1 Extent and focus of the academic career literature

There is a limited UK academic career literature with few subjective accounts of career (Blaxter et al., 1998b; Cuthbert, 1996; Danieli and Thomas, 1999), as most studies have focused upon institutional level analysis and university structural change work (Richardson and McKenna, 2002). Yet it is argued there is a need to develop an appreciation of the ways in which academic careers are socially constructed (Taylor, 1999).

Since early studies of academic careers in the 1950s, the North American literature has developed further than that of the UK (Blaxter, 1998b). Despite much of the literature addressing North American contexts, Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest that whilst some differentiation remains, globalization of HE is leading towards a convergence of characteristics so some insights may be gained from this wider literature. The international growth of HE and the suggestion that features of an academic career which are indicative for careers in other sectors make the study of academic careers an important way to develop career theory (Baruch and Hall, 2004a).

Academic careers are thus appreciated as either indicative of broader processes of career or as a concept for others to follow (Baruch and Hall, 2004a), and a means through which researchers can “reflect upon our own context” (Rabinow, 1986:253). As Rabinow (1986:253) suggests the “micropractices of the academy might well do with some scrutiny”, to explore the less comfortable aspects of academic career experiences, and “struggles” which are kept hidden from view by not being discussed (Ashcraft, 2008:380). Gersick et al. (2000:1027) similarly argue study “differences in day-to-day relational experiences that may contribute to the gap [in] ... career outcomes” which may provide important insight into academic micropolitics. However across the academic career literature, and ‘how to’ guides on developing an academic career (Ali and Graham, 2000; Blaxter et al., 1998a; Boden et al., 2005) only Boden et al. (2005) very briefly mention disabled academics in relation to two points addressing issues ‘physically disabled’ academics may face.

Before moving on to consider the literature on academic careers in more detail, a review of the UK higher education context is offered.

3.5.2 UK higher education national context

The UK HE sector developed from a small number of elite universities to a binary system of universities (funded by central government and awarding their own degrees) and polytechnics (tertiary education institutions funded by local authorities and degrees awarded through the University of London), through a number of policy initiatives between the 1950s and the 1980s (Deem et al., 2007; Hall, 2003; Silver, 1990). Reform in the 1990s aimed to reduce the differentiation between universities and polytechnics and establish a HE sector of universities, with a range of university types and missions ranging from research intensive, teaching focused universities and universities with more mixed missions (Deem et al., 2007).

3.5.2.1 National policy context

These national changes to the parameters of HE had implications for policy changes affecting how academic work was, and is now, managed in the UK HE sector (Deem, 2004).

During the 1960s and 1970s academic, knowledge, work was mostly regulated internally with decision making via collegiate committee or academic group processes (Deem, 2004). Government policy changes in the early 1980s towards a market ideology across the public sector led to universities becoming increasingly open to public scrutiny over expenditure, and ‘new managerialism’ entered HE (Deem, 2004).

Deem (2004) suggests these changes emphasized a desire for culture change including an increased emphasis upon the management of academic work and academics within a 'marketization' approach to the publicly funded aspects of the sector.

3.5.2.2 New managerialism in higher education

New managerialism can be understood as "the adoption by public sector organisations of organisational forms, technologies, management practices and values more commonly found in the private business sector" (Deem, 1998:47). New managerialism is argued to be both an ideology and sets of organizing practices such as devolving financial and other areas of responsibility, sometimes alongside increased "centralised regulation" (Deem, 2004:110).

Prior to the 1980s, Parry (2001) suggests the HE environment was reasonably predictable, despite the changes that had taken place over the preceding decades. However, from the 1980s changes to student numbers and how these were distributed across the sector, extensive external monitoring of teaching and learning and research, and a reduction of public funding, Parry (2001) suggests, reflect a concern for constructing a regulated market in HE leading to less certainty or predictability for those managing universities.

3.5.2.3 Impact of new managerialism upon higher education policy

Mercer (2009) summarizes the changes in HE policy which reflect new managerialism over this period into four key interrelated strands of internal and external accountability emphasizing increasingly elaborate monitoring processes for both teaching and research, the marketization of HE, with universities competing for student numbers, an emphasis upon efficiency and an increased focus upon entrepreneurial activities which led universities to seek income generation opportunities.

It is suggested that the changes to the national context of HE should be characterized by a policy emphasis upon "doing more with less" (Deem et al., 2007:183). Within a context of increased focus upon efficiency yet decreased capital, university responses have led to significantly different working conditions, work intensification for example (Parry, 2001: Kinman and Jones, 2004), increasingly devolving budgets to local cost centres, yet maintaining some centralized decision making over issues such as resourcing, argued to have created a context of centralized decentralization (Hoggett, 1991).

3.5.2.4 University responses to new managerialism

Overall, literature on the UK HE sector highlights how the context of academic work has become one of increasingly constrained resources and increased accountability (Barratt and Barratt, 2007; Deem, 2005; Trowler, 2001), external audit (Burgoyne et al., 2009; Deem, 2004) and increased expectations of an enhanced contribution to the “economy and society” (Barratt and Barratt, 2007:461), or value for money (Deem, 1998).

It is suggested that the result of responses to policy and funding changes has led to both similarities emerging and differences remaining intact which are historically connected to the earlier binary between polytechnics and universities pre 1990s as outlined in Section 3.5.2. For example, changes to the development and implementation of the HE funding framework has meant broad commonalities in the management of universities as they respond to the funding regime requirements (Deem, 1998). Historical differences also remain, for example in the recruitment of senior academic staff (Burgoyne et al., 2009; Deem, 2005) who may have “different degrees of investment in their roles” (Deem, 2004:119), reflecting the differing recruitment practices of temporary/permanent posts reflecting pre-and post-1992 University structures (Deem, 2004).

Deem (1998:51) suggests therefore that the response to new managerialism may be one of compromise, with universities retaining “some long established administrative and management regimes alongside the new ones”, for example developing senior management teams which co-exist along with more traditional forms of academic management such as “semi-autonomous departments and peer review processes”. This suggests that the HE environment is highly complex with both old and new agendas contributing to the context within which academic work is managed and disabled academics’ careers unfold.

3.5.2.5 Management of academic work: manager-academics

3.5.2.5.1 Manager-academics

Terms referring to academics as managers are relatively new to HE (Hancock and Hellawell, 2003), and a range of terms are used in the literature. Terms such as manager-academic, referring to roles between Vice-Chancellor to Associate Dean levels (Deem, 2004), academic middle managers referring to Dean or Head of Department (Hancock and Hellawell, 2003) or Dean, Head of Department and Associate Dean roles (Hellawell and Hancock, 2001).

Additionally, academic manager has been used for those in roles which range from course leader to Head of Department, often professorial, who identify with “values *congruent* with the managerial discourse” (Winter, 2009:121 emphasis in original) and junior academic-manager, those with informal leadership or management responsibilities below the Head of Department level such as programme leaders or project co-ordinators (Mercer, 2009).

For consistency manager-academic will be used in this thesis as the broad term to refer to both those academics with leadership or management responsibilities and those academics with devolved management responsibilities below Head of Department level, without making any judgement over managers’ alliance, or otherwise, with new managerialism.

3.5.2.5.2 Impact of the policy context for manager-academics

The policy changes in HE since the 1980s are argued to have placed pressure upon senior managers to “organize and ‘manage’ their staff in ways that deliver the results that will ensure a flow of resources sufficient to sustain their existence” (Prichard and Willmott, 1997:297). Despite this, research into the experiences of manager-academics is limited (Bryman and Lilley, 2009; de Boer and Goedegebuure, 2009).

Deem’s (2004:111) review of the extant literature suggests policy change in HE, through an emphasis upon new managerialism, has had an important effect upon the nature of manager-academics’ work and expectations of how they will need to manage the work of academic colleagues. Manager-academics are arguably faced with long hours and heavy workloads and “increasing tensions” which are created in meeting the different performance measures relating to research and teaching (Deem, 2005:4). Whilst they may have responsibility for the delivery of departmental or academic unit targets it is suggested the maintenance of some centralized decision making over issues such as financial control and allocation of resources is a frustration to their work (Hellawell and Hancock, 2001). It is within this context that manager-academics are required to manage academic colleagues to deliver, as noted above, wide ranging and at times conflicting expectations. Consequently, research has begun to identify the role of manager-academics (Knight and Trowler, 2001; Mercer, 2009; Winter, 2009) and junior academic managers (Mercer, 2009) as one which requires the balancing of conflicting requirements.

Rather than “shed[ding] their collegiate skins” in response to new managerialism (Winter, 2009:123), it is suggested that manager-academics may be more ambivalent, as Deem et al. argue that for any one manager who had ‘absorbed’ new managerialism “three or four...felt uncomfortable about most of its manifestations” (Deem et al., 2005:13).

It is acknowledged that there are complexities (Deem, 2003) in managing academics due to their expectation to critically engage in their work, expectations of collegiality in university decision making, set against discipline rather than institutional or functional allegiances (Becher and Trowler, 2001). Manager-academics may face resistance from colleagues who seek to protect more collegiate ways of working (Chandler et al., 2002; Winter, 2009). Manager-academics may therefore seek to resist, relegate (Deem and Johnson, 2003), or mediate (Deem, 2003), the importance of managerialism in their working practices. Whilst recognizing collegial decision-making is not unproblematic, manager-academics may seek to maintain collegiality within their decision making practices, although they may not always feel their more senior managers similarly did so (Chandler et al., 2002; Hellawell and Hancock, 2001). Deem (2003) suggests that whilst manager-academics may not seek to work in ways which prevent colleagues from collegial involvement, the staff they manage may hold sharply different perspectives upon the outcome of their approach and management practices, and feel excluded. However, as Deem (2003) notes, new managerialism and how universities have responded to it may affect decision making processes in ways which reduce or diminish academic involvement, which can be understood to be exclusionary in nature, and therefore outside the remit of manager-academics to significantly influence. These studies support the suggestion that the internal dynamics of universities are perceived to be “contested” and “complex” (Deem et al., 2007:84).

3.5.2.6 Higher education as dialogic

The differing ways in which manager-academics may respond reflects Trowler’s (2001:183) suggestion that HE is dialogic, and new managerialism is not the only prevalent discourse shaping academic contexts as both external conditions and internal operations contribute to “multiplicity of discourses with plurivocal meanings” (Trowler, 2001:191) which are intertextually connected. Trowler (2001:191) suggests for example “educational ideologies; ‘stories’ about the epistemological character of disciplines; the relative profitability of alternative behaviours...cultures associated with gender, social class, ethnicity and so on”.

Becher and Trowler (2001) argue longer standing beliefs, norms and values associated with academic work, that is, preferences for autonomy, collegiality, and accountability to one’s peers (Winter, 2009), differentiated by discipline, rather than function (Henkel, 1997) are embodied within academic work and work processes (Becher and Trowler, 2001), and an important aspect of academic identity (Henkel, 2002), even if they are no longer fully applicable to organizing contexts which emphasize new managerialist (Henkel, 1997) discourses.

The current context of reduced resources may marginalize these values and beliefs (Deem, 2004) creating further tensions for manager-academics as they negotiate with colleagues to achieve performance targets. As Deem (2001:10) suggests, HE may operate with more than one “discourse or language” shaped by the “context and audience”, and manager-academics may draw upon old or new understandings (Winter, 2009) as they negotiate career contexts.

3.5.2.7 Academia as a greedy institution

There is a long-standing recognition that academic work requires a substantial investment of time and effort to achieve the levels of productivity and outputs required for an academic career (Acker, 1983). As such, Acker (1983:192) argues academia is a greedy institution; with work which requires “continuous commitment” spilling out into personal, or leisure time (Kinman and Jones, 2004). Kinman and Jones’ (2004) study noted that academics often dealt with up to a fifth of their work at home over evenings and weekends, constructing difficulties for academics with “competing claims”, for example family commitments (Acker, 1983:199), and emphasizes that those academics who are unable to commit the time or achieve productivity levels (in research outputs for example) needed to develop an academic career will be at a disadvantage.

Currie et al. (2000:271) argue that the increased global trend of managerialism has further contributed to academia as a greedy institution, with academics resenting the further time needed for additional administrative or ‘quality’ management activities as it displaces valued intellectual activities, meaning this work further impinges on personal time or is deferred. Currie et al. (2000) suggest most academics experience a sense of loss, making personal (i.e. family life) or work (i.e. income through role changes, academic values such as collegial involvement, teaching quality, compromising or being silent on political values) sacrifices so that they can progress in their careers. Faced with the threat of such losses, some academics strategize about whether, and what, to sacrifice, such as rationalizing time, setting priorities, moving away from risky research topics to gain acceptance within their institutions, as refusal to sacrifice and fail to meet performance expectations potentially risks their career progression (Currie et al, 2000).

Whilst the effects are felt by both male and female academics, Currie et al. (2000) raise the question of the work patterns generally within academia, suggesting, like Acker (1983), that whilst academia makes similar demands of both male and female academics, understanding academic work as gendered draws attention to how women are less likely to be able to comply with the long hours required by how academic careers are currently organized.

However, the social and political processes which lead to such ways of working are rendered invisible as the working practices are normalised in ways which “make it almost impossible to consider other alternatives” (Currie et al., 2000:289).

A step towards acknowledging different experiences and requirements between groups of academics was the development of equalities guidance for the research assessment exercise (RAE) 2008. HEFCE (2005a/b) incorporated guidance for both universities developing their internal criteria for the submission of academic staff and for RAE panel members assessing these submissions, to factor in equality related reduced quantity (not quality) of publications, (including disabled academics) to reflect the legislative duties such as the DDA 1995 and the requirement to make reasonable adjustments, indicating a reduced quantity of publications could be such an adjustment.

The review of the literature on the HE context, policy reforms and manager-academics identified that this is a limited literature, and within this there is an absence of research into the implications for manager-academics managing disabled academics and their access requirements within the complexity of national policy and institutional responses outlined above.

3.5.3 The occupational and organizational in academic careers

Since Blaxter et al.’s (1998b) review of academic careers there have been a small number of subsequent studies which connect academic careers with both new and more traditional, or old, career literatures. Movement between institutions and countries, low dependency on one employer, high dependency on extra-organizational networks and the prioritization of the personal and familial over career are seen as locating academic careers with the ‘new’ career literature (Richardson and Zikic, 2007), whilst the hierarchically structured routes for progression against specific criteria, and tenure (Kaulisch and Enders, 2005; Blaxter et al., 1998a) also link to the ‘old’ career literature.

Harley et al. (2004) argue academic careers are becoming less boundaryless as universities attempt to exert increasing control, tying academics to the interest of their organizations. Duberley et al. (2006) similarly argue there is interplay between environmental boundaries and how people operate within their career contexts. It is this understanding of contextual factors which means researching academic careers draws attention to both the academic and their context to understand career experiences.

This review will synthesize key issues relevant to the boundaryless academic career by bringing together the main ways Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest academic careers can be understood to be boundaryless, with relevant academic career boundaries identified within the extant literature, and the limited extant literature on disabled academics' career experiences.

3.5.4 Empowerment and autonomy – career agency and multi-directional career contexts

A characteristic of the academic career which most closely connects with the boundaryless career concept is a belief in the academic as empowered and autonomous (Blaxter et al., 1998a; Richardson and Zikic, 2007), someone who can “move his or her career and research agenda fairly easily from one university to another” (Baruch and Hall, 2004b:249). Further, Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest academics have multiple career paths available, which includes across the HE sector (within disciplinary boundaries) or across sector (national or international) horizontal moves, and vertical moves, for example assuming short term managerial posts such as departmental heads or Dean responsibilities before resuming their previous role, and moving into an academic management role. These are moves widely accepted within an academic career journey.

However, Duberley et al. (2006:1138) highlight a range of contexts, for example familial, discipline or organizational, constructing both opportunities and constraints as they “interweave and are experienced as inextricably linked, overlapping and sometimes competing”, (Duberley et al., 2006:1143). A particular constraint acknowledged to have a significant impact on academic careers generally are gatekeepers (Becher and Trowler, 2001), senior academics who assess academics, decide who can enter academic communities and whose support is important to developing an academic career (Heward et al., 1997).

Further to these general contextual factors which shape academics careers, disabled academics surface additional constraints, for example the ability to effect the organization of one's work or the ability, or desire, to make career moves (French, 1998; Shakespeare, 2006; Woodcock et al., 2007), and the relational nature of organizing processes where personal strategies require colleagues' support to ensure these are effective (Campbell et al., 2008; Tidwell, 2004).

However disabled academics experienced a refusal to accept disabled people's impairment effects related requirements as a legitimate organizing principle, hindering their self-organization. Iantaffi (1996) suggests requesting assistance is perceived negatively and equated with weakness. French (1998) found it generally unacceptable to request, and an unwillingness of academic staff to modify work remits, provide assistance with teaching or administration, and like Guelke (2003:396) access was reliant upon the "ad hocary, dependency and goodwill" of others. French's (1998) response has been to work hard and avoid work which involved administration, which could however have led to opportunities for advancement.

A desire for stability and reliance upon geographically located support, for example impairment related health services (Shah, 2005), an inaccessible campus (Boden et al., 2005) or moves involving travel or commuting (Shakespeare, 2006) may lead to decisions to limit career mobility or be a factor in accepting or rejecting a career move.

3.5.5 Networking and relationships in academic careers

Baruch and Hall (2004b) outline the nature of academic work as premised upon self organization and networking. The self organization of academic work enables academics to focus upon outcomes rather than compliance with a fully fixed work pattern. This is discussed further below in Section 3.5.8.

Self organization is enhanced through networking intra and inter organizationally (Blaxter et al., 1998a/b; Gersick et al., 2000; Fries-Britt, 2000; Heward et al., 1997; Mankin, 2007; Sargent and Waters, 2004). Intra organizationally within one's organization facilitated through 'service'; administrative and management responsibilities discussed further in Section 3.5.6; inter organizationally through discipline or sub-discipline opportunities.

The peer review process, premised upon reputation is understood as a career target for academics, with networking being one of the key ways reputation can be established and maintained (Kaulisch and Enders, 2005). Conferences are identified as providing an important arena for networking, not only in developing and maintaining an academic reputation through dissemination and peer review of scholarly work (Baruch and Hall, 2004b) but also enabling academics to develop contacts and accessing formal and informal knowledge sharing opportunities (Mankin, 2007).

However, access to and participation in academic conferences is not necessarily straightforward for disabled academics. Disabled academics raise issues such as being asked personal questions (such as the nature of their impairment) irrelevant to the academic topic being presented (Woodcock et al., 2007), or organizing one's own access arrangements, such as sign language interpreters (Campbell et al., 2008), as limiting experiences.

As Gersick et al.'s (2000) study highlights, academics' experience of developing relationships through networking is not without limitations. In their study, Gersick et al. (2000:1039-40) noted qualitative differences in networking experiences, highlighting women academics in their study talked more of the career harm they experienced through academic relationships, and how women's involvement in academic networks was at the periphery, where they struggled "to prove their fitness to 'play the game' at all". Proving oneself as a disabled academic is an issue raised by disabled academics, particularly against perceptions of inability (Woodcock et al., 2007). Corin (in Shah, 2005:151) for example, when seeking a lectureship felt she had to prove herself over and above others' negative assessments because she was disabled.

3.5.6 Collegiality

Collegiality is an important aspect of the self organization of academe. Collegiality is discussed in the academic career literature as consensual decision making (Hancock and Hellawell, 2003), collegial governance (Baruch, 2004; Baruch and Hall, 2004b), collegial organizing (Blackmore and Blackwell, 2006), offering service to the university (and one's discipline), and being a team player (Silverman, 2004). Whilst collegiality may usually be associated with older universities, it is argued to be a value and attitude which informs the culture of academic work across the HE sector (Harley et al., 2004).

Collegiality can be understood as informing both the nature of academic work (service collegiality) and the nature of relationships between academics (relational collegiality) (Silverman, 2004). Within Silverman's (2004) framework, assessments of both service and relational collegiality are based upon tacit, subjective, criteria with academics evidencing collegiality through demonstrating appropriate behaviours. Silverman (2004) offers what he calls a partial list (over four pages) of the behaviours which can evince collegiality, such as doing your fair share of the tripartite roles and associated duties of an academic (scholarly activity, administering the department or institution, and teaching).

However Baez (2005:422) suggests “any notion of ‘collegiality’ makes sense only within particular configurations of power...that will dictate such conduct in advance of agency”. That is, collegiality exists within a network of hierarchical relations, therefore Baez (2005:423) suggests it is important to consider how “politics of race, gender, class, sexuality, economy and knowledge dictate which forms of power will be exercised by the academy over its members”.

As Bensimon (1995) notes, historically collegiality has not always extended to all categories of academic staff, noting women and minority ethnic academics’ exclusion from involvement in both departmental and university decision making processes. Hierarchical and differential relations among faculty members are argued to continue to haunt HE, providing different resources for academics to draw upon, and creating difficulties for academics who exist on the margins of their organizations (Hey, 2001).

French (1998:36) suggests the ways in which HE organizing is performed can be such that the barriers disabled academics experience could be “reduced or resolved”, however this requires political will. This is not to suggest that academics cannot be proactive in their relations and aim to influence their contexts and careers. Contributing to service is recognized as a means through which changes both within one’s academic practice, institution, and discipline can be achieved (Hanson, 2007). Hanson (2007:31) suggests developing equity in the curriculum, nurturing international networks for marginalized communities of interest, and focusing scholarly outputs which raise the profile of those who might otherwise be marginalized are amongst a range of ways in which ‘service’ can be subversive of existing hierarchical arrangements.

3.5.6.1 Low sociability and solidarity

Whilst developing and maintaining relationships is recognized to be important, Baruch and Hall (2004b:253) suggest academics are low on sociability and solidarity, as relationships and engagement with colleagues facilitate individual career aspirations with less concern for “organizational or other social commitment[s]”. These elements further attest to the relational nature of academic careers, and the tensions that may be inherent within such relationships.

Duberley et al. (2006) identify two broad modes of engagement within their research participants’ career contexts; seeking to maintain or transform the structures (or institutions) their careers brought them into contact with. Engagement was noted to be fluid, people moving between reactive and proactive approaches to engagement depending upon contextual factors, and often choosing some form of synthesis of the two.

Boden et al. (2005) advise disabled academics to ensure they do not become overly called upon to serve as the token minority (representative of their minority group) for university activities, whereas Silverman (2004:7) suggests, that being a member of a 'minority group' may mean lesser expectations of "evincing" collegial service to one's department or university governance. Whilst Silverman (2004) does not expand upon why this may be the case, it is listed as an advantage which Silverman suggests should be grasped.

The literature on disabled academics highlights a commitment to developing improved relations and involvement in disability related training within their universities (French, 1998; Gibson, 1996; Guelke 2003; Trowler and Turner, 2002). Trowler and Turner (2002:234) studied a Deaf academic group who had developed strong social bonds and a deep commitment to developing understanding of Deaf culture and promoting opportunities for enhanced quality of life for Deaf people through academic activities, similarly reflected by Tidwell (2004), Woodcock et al. (2007) and Campbell et al. (2008) who all express a concern for improving relations for both D/deaf and hearing colleagues and students. This suggests a broad concern amongst disabled academics to contribute to their organizing context by offering additional service.

However, despite this commitment, Ozbilgin and Bell (2006:268) suggest the "marginal interests and inquiry of 'non-traditional' academics" have failed to penetrate mainstream research, and are effectively silenced, which compromises scientific inquiry. So whilst disabled academics are responding by contributing to their organizations and including their experiences within research outputs across a range of disciplines, Ozbilgin and Bell (2006) suggest there is less evidence of this work informing mainstream theory development.

3.5.7 Individual qualities for career progression

Baruch and Hall (2004b:251) suggest academics need resilience (or "thick skin") to survive the "rejection-based" nature of academic work, primarily related to the importance of scholarly activity, and submitting one's academic papers to recognized scholarly journals.

However, in talking about resilience, disabled academics refer to resilience against poor expectations of them as disabled people (Gibson, 1996) or surviving inhospitable, inaccessible, contexts (French, 1998). French (1998:39) states that whilst being an academic is the occupation of her choice and brings many rewards, she concludes by noting "I pursue it at considerable cost to myself".

Here Gibson (1996) and French (1998) are attesting to the commitment and vim needed to be a disabled academic, where social expectations of their capabilities may be limited and the contexts within which they work do not include or recognize their impairment effects related organizing requirements perceiving these to be individual limitations, and consequently limiting social expectations of disabled academics and any understanding of the difficulties of negotiating non inclusive work contexts.

3.5.8 Work arrangements

Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest non-traditional, or alternative, work arrangements typify academic careers. Whilst the emphasis in academic work is upon results rather than attendance, and achievements and merit often measured by outputs, alternative work arrangements which facilitate academic work are acknowledged to support access to career progression opportunities. Working from home, for example, is recognized to facilitate academic (such as writing or 'thinking') work.

Balanced against this is an increasing pressure for academics to align to the commercial interests of universities (Blaxter, 1998b; Harley et al., 2004; Kaulisch and Enders, 2005). Baruch and Hall (2004b:246) suggest Taylor's (1999) insights into environmental changes in the UK HE sector have resulted in increased pressure upon efficiency with commensurate implications for the organization of academic work. This is reflected in the review of literature outlined in Sections 3.5.2-3.5.2.5.2 which identified a range of external pressures impacting upon expectations of, and provision for, academic work.

3.5.9 Workload modelling

Academic workload and work intensification are issues within broader discussions of academic work (Currie et al., 2000; Deem et al., 2007; Hey, 2001; Hull, 2006; Kinman and Jones, 2004; Ozbilgin and Bell, 2006; Parry, 2001) and workload management is a concern within the sector where a range of universities have implemented workload allocation management systems (Barrett and Barrett, 2007).

Whilst workload models (WLM) are recognized to vary in the range of academic work activities included in the models adopted by universities, Barratt and Barratt (2007:642) suggest workload allocation can be understood broadly as

the policy and modelling aspects of the dividing up and distributing work... include[ing] some discussion on 'workload balancing/tuning' that relate to the more individualised or negotiated dimensions of the process.

However, Barratt and Barratt's (2007) literature review identified workload models focused primarily upon teaching (and related activities) allocations. Whilst some academic work activities are excluded from university workload models (Barratt and Barratt, 2007), these operate as additional performance targets. For example Deem (2005:14) identifies the widespread use of "income and RAE score targets" as performance management techniques. Decisions on the interpretation of WLMs and discretion over workload allocation are often left to manager-academics who may set workloads and then informally negotiate and tweak allocations during the year (Barratt and Barratt, 2007).

Barratt and Barratt (2007:476) surmise "models that incorporate the full range of work activities have the greatest possibility of creating equitable solutions". However, equality related workload implications for different social groups, including disabled academics, are absent in Barratt and Barratt's (2007) review, despite equity being a major focus of workload policy in the UK universities they studied. Deem et al. (2005:120) highlight the identification for more "equitable workload[s]" which take into account impairment effects as a significant issue for disabled staff, which is recognized as potentially impeding long term "career progression and promotion prospects" when not considered. Chouinard (1999:144) for example, noted colleagues' expectations that she conform to a normative work remit, performing "all the 'normal duties'" if she wanted to maintain her position as an academic, rather than negotiate an alternative work remit which accommodated impairment effects. Normative expectations which exclude impairment effects may require evening and weekend working to achieve workload requirements yet have debilitating effects for disabled academics (NIACE, 2008) and exclude the additional work of organizing one's own access requirements, for example interpreters (Campbell et al., 2008; Woodcock et al., 2007).

Alongside Barnes (1996) identification of overcompensation as a personal strategy to ameliorate non-inclusive environments, this literature suggests disabled academics experience additional work(loads) due to work remits and work expectations failing to account for the variations disabled academics require, within a context of broader work intensification.

3.5.10 Equality issues in academic careers

Equality is an important function of HE, in terms of importing broader social agendas about equality and social justice into HE organizations, and exporting or making a contribution to a fairer society (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008). However, emerging from the literature on equality and gender in academia is the suggestion that HE organizations reflect oppositional and dominant power relations rather than challenging them (Morley and Walsh, 1996).

Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest academic processes are understood to inherently attempt (although not always successfully) to mitigate discrimination, for example through 'blind review' processes. However, whilst attempts have been made towards equality for marginalized groups within academia, for example by offering "special programmes for groups such as ethnic minorities, women, disabled, and expatriates" hoped for progress has not been achieved (Baruch and Hall, 2004b:254). Baruch and Hall's (2004b) emphasis is upon programmes *for* marginalized groups, and sustains a view that academic processes or practices are perceived to be fair through equal application, rather than considering the impact of normative expectations upon academics with different work remit or access requirements.

HE contexts are recognized to be mediated by gender, class, race (Blaxter et al., 1998a) and age (Strike and Taylor, 2009). Ozbilgin and Bell (2008:268) suggest academe remains intersectionally organized, and whilst disabled academics, amongst others categorized as minorities, have gained limited access to academic posts they remain "underrepresented in prized posts and in highly rated institutions". Micro-political processes of academic work contribute to such marginalization (Gersick et al., 2000) as "power gets relayed informally in academic life via networks, coalitions, gossip, humour, sarcasm and exclusions. Exclusion is often abstract and nebulous" and it is these informal organizing processes which HE academics cite as important in matters of equality (Deem et al., 2005:61).

These insights, together with the limited career literature on disabled academics, and the experiences of disabled academics writing within their disciplines synthesized above alert the researcher, and provide some indications, of the ways in which disabled academics' careers may be mediated by experiences of and responses to impairment effects, disability and ableism which are not accounted for within the academic or boundaryless career literatures.

Central to improved opportunities for disabled academics, Chouinard (1999) argues, is to raise awareness and understanding of the struggles of disabled academics within their organizing contexts and engage colleagues in ways which appreciate the difference impairment effects and disability makes to their career experiences, which can contribute to any collaborative, collective approach to constructing more inclusive work contexts.

3.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has outlined an approach to organization studies which questions knowledge production as part of an epistemological project within the field (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994). This is argued to require the surfacing and arguing for a consideration of the voices of those people who may experience marginalization with their organizing contexts (Prasad et al., 2007; Pringle and Mallon, 2003) and have previously been marginalized within the field (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994). Drawing this together with the disability studies lens developed in Chapter Two addresses the concern to develop disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis (Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Harlan and Robert, 1998). The aim of engaging with this aspect of the field is to question the taken for granted (Ferguson, 1994) to consider how disability is the medium, and emerges as an outcome, of organizing processes (Mumby, 2008), and the role of ableism in such processes.

This theoretical interest was explored through an engagement with career studies. The application of the disability studies lens and drawing upon the disability studies literature through the theorization of disabled academics' career experiences was argued to offer the potential to make an additional contribution to the boundaryless and academic career literatures. This is in response to the recognized need for career studies to become more inclusive and reflect different social groups' experiences (Marshall, 1989; Mavin, 2001; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Sullivan, 1999). To achieve this, this thesis takes forward the expressed interest in further developing subjective accounts of career experiences (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). This will address the identified gap in career studies. That is, whereas gender, race, class (Blaxter et al., 1998a) and age (Strike and Taylor, 2009) are recognized mediators of academic careers, this thesis focuses upon disabled academics' experiences of disability and ableism, under researched within the boundaryless and academic career literatures, by exploring their career boundaries (Pringle and Mallon, 2003) to consider how disability and ableism mediate disabled academics' careers. The theoretical interest of this thesis is drawn together these Figure 3.4 below.



Figure 3.4 Theoretical framework for the thesis

3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined an approach to organization studies which questions knowledge production as part of an epistemological project within the field (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994), and fused this with the disability studies lens to contribute to develop disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis (Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Harlan and Robert, 1998) in organization studies. This theoretical interest was explored through an engagement with career studies, where the boundaryless and academic career literatures were fused with the disability studies and disabled academics' auto-ethnographic accounts. Bringing together both the disability studies lens and literature, epistemological project in organization studies, boundaryless, academic and disabled academics auto-ethnographic career literatures constructs the theoretical framework through which the research question "What can disabled academics' career experiences offer to studies of organization?" will be explored.

Chapter Four – Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the philosophical and methodological framework which guides this thesis. The chapter outlines the philosophical orientation, methodological choices and explores the process of deciding upon methods, identifying participants, and my approach to analysis, with the aim of demonstrating cohesion, from my research question to the methods employed. The development and implementation of the philosophical orientation, methodological choices and methods adopted for collecting and interpreting empirical materials aim to enable this thesis to answer the research question:

- *What can disabled academics' career experiences offer to studies of organization?*

This chapter addresses the research objective:

- *To develop a methodology and appropriate methods which place disabled academics 'centre stage' and support an in-depth exploration of disabled academics' career and organizing experiences*

4.2 Epistemological and ontological choices

This research is orientated towards a social constructionist epistemology and ontology which prioritises the interaction between the individual and her context in the construction of knowledge as people interact and relate with others (Crotty, 1998), and through which we come to understand ourselves and to construct knowledge of the social world. This understanding moves away from understanding people and organizations as entitative (Hosking and Morley, 1991), separate or bound. Interacting and relating is not understood to produce static or fixed states, rather the social world is appreciated as an “*ongoing achievement...of human interaction*” (Watson, 2001:223 emphasis in original) which requires that we understand people and organizations to be always in process; in the process of meaning making, in the process of constructing knowledge through processes of “actions, interactions, and the local orchestration of relationships” (Chia, 1995:581).

Ontologically, this processual understanding of meaning making and knowledge construction “privileges an ontology of movement, emergence and becoming” (Chia, 1996:117). I understand this as arguing that what is recognized to be real is temporal, emerging from interacting and relating, always in the process of becoming, never achieving a final closed state (Chia, 2000).

Social constructionism orientates a researcher towards questioning the premise of the taken for granted (Burr, 2003). Relevant to this thesis, this enables an appreciation that the divisions constructed to understand the social world, for example disabled and non-disabled, impairment and non-impairment, do not tell us something of the nature of what we observe. Rather they tell us something of the normative social order, and the social categories we construct to enable our understanding and meaning of our observations, meaning all social categories are open to critique (Burr, 2003). As Deetz (2003:423) notes "All knowledge and understanding is created out of the specific instruments, procedures, institutions, goals, and aspirations available at a point in time, and these themselves arise out of earlier ones". Knowledge production is thus understood to be historically situated, constructed, and relational, whilst the realities constructed as interdependent (Hosking and Morley, 1991), fluid, always in the process of emerging, and producing multiple realities which are not fixed or necessarily shared (Deetz, 2000; Hosking, 1999).

This enables research to acknowledge the social world, and organizing contexts as plurivocal, and polysemic, that is consisting of many voices and constructed of multiple meanings (Currie and Brown, 2003), recognizing people's differing projects, and these differing projects within their organizing contexts (Hosking and Morley, 1991). This means that "whatever the particular description of organizing, other descriptions always will be possible" (Hosking and Fineman, 1990:584), and therefore an appreciation of differences, multiplicity or plurivocality as good data (Hosking, 1999). In this thesis, this is reflected in the approach to researching disabled academics through narrative inquiry and narrative interviewing techniques. This is also reflected in the presentation of disabled academics' career experiences which highlights similarities and differences between and within their experiences in Chapter Five, and the insights developed through Chapters Five and Six on the relationship between disabled academics and others within their career contexts.

Language, and discourse, hold a central place in such an approach (Hosking, 1999), understood as not simply enabling access to an already established reality, rather as constitutive or formative in "giving form to reality" (Cunliffe, 2001:352), bringing people and things into being (Hosking, 1999). Understanding language as formative draws attention to its central role in processes of meaning making in the construction of the social world (Schwandt, 2000), whilst following Gubrium and Holstein (1997) means appreciating that whilst we are discursively constructed "we are also subjects, capable of critically assessing the discourses that constitute us and of adopting new ones that, again, will have their problems as well as possibilities" (Saukko, 2000:302).

The orientation of this thesis recognizes “there is no single truth” (Guba and Lincoln, 2005:212) and the ‘truths’ research participants share can be understood as situated, partial accounts (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Riessman, 2008; Saukko, 2000), co-constructed for the purpose of the interview (Hosking, 1999). However, in adopting such a position, I do not go so far as to suggest that any truth can be offered or any act, or action will be accepted in any context. I acknowledge the social contexts in which processes of relating, interacting and meaning making take place delimit what can be accepted, and when reified have material (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000; Reed, 1993) and social (Burr, 2003) outcomes. This is in recognition that processes of relating are “power infused” through which some and not others are privileged (Cunliffe, 2008:128), which enables the researcher to connect people to the wider social and material worlds.

Cunliffe (2008:126) suggests that a continuum between different orientations and interests in constructionist approaches, with no one “particular form of constructionism to follow”, means researchers may “take up only a few characteristic parts of the main lines” of a position (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000:196), and pick and choose and “think through” a perspective rather than being limited by or to it (Crotty, 1998:215). Therefore this research is located within a constructionist continuum, drawing upon the emergent nature of social realities and a critically informed understanding which acknowledges knowledge production is power infused, and privileging some people’s organizing requirements over others with material consequences. This reflects the thesis’ methodological choice of narrative inquiry whilst drawing upon a Foucauldian understanding of discourse. This is explored in detail in Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.1.1 below.

4.3 Methodological choices

4.3.1 Narrative inquiry

There are a wide range of uses of narrative in organization studies and narrative has become established as an approach to organizational research (Brown et al., 2009; Rhodes and Brown, 2005) recognized “not only as a form of data...but also as a theoretical lens...a methodological approach...and various combinations of these” (Rhodes and Brown, 2005:169-170). The field is characterized as heterogeneous “embracing of pluralism and tolerance of epistemological, ontological, methodological and ideological difference” in approaches (Brown et al., 2009:324).

In career research, Cohen et al. (2004:411) argue for narrative as an approach to researching career in context, drawing attention to the role of language in how “meanings are reproduced, negotiated and transformed through social practice”, and appreciating “career narratives as a social process, framed by cultural norms and understandings”, enabling an exploratory approach to researching career experiences and lending itself toward a collaborative approach between researcher and research participants (Blustein et al., 2005). Similarly, studies which draw upon a narrative informed methodology have emerged which make a contribution to disability studies (Booth, 1996; French and Swain, 2006; Owens, 2007; Smith and Sparkes, 2007; Thomas, 2007) which similarly value narrative inquiry as a collaborative approach to research which raises the voices, and addresses the silence and invisibility, of disabled people (French and Swain, 2000).

Whilst the terms narrative and narrative inquiry are adopted across a range of disciplines, narrative is understood and operationalized in varying ways (Brown et al., 2009; Clandinin, 2007; Riessman, 2008; Rhodes and Brown, 2005; Söderberg, 2003). It is not the intention of this thesis to debate narrative or its operationalization within research, rather to locate and describe the understanding adopted within this thesis.

Whilst there are divergent views on narrative and its relation to life, subjectivity, culture, and truth there is concurrence in understanding narrative as a process through which people “make sense of experience” (Chase, 1995:5) and “communicate meaning” (Chase, 1995:7), as they seek to describe “human action” (Polkinghorne, 1995:5). Similarly Clandinin (2007:xiv) highlights agreement upon narrative inquiry being “the study of experience”, and whilst differences in approach are recognized, suggests it could also be agreed that narrative inquiry has focused upon “both the living of storied experience and the stories one tells of...lived experience”. It is for the researcher to locate herself within these debates in a way which fits her philosophical assumptions.

My understanding of the relationship between experience and narrative reflects Ellis and Bochner’s (2000) argument that narrative research is often auto-ethnographic in beginning with, and drawing upon personal experiences, where researchers may be “moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations” as they work from their experiences to the wider social setting, travelling with their research participants through the research process.

As Clandinin and Connolly (2000:20) articulate

narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience. It is a collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus. An enquirer enters this matrix in the midst and progresses in this same spirit, concluding the inquiry still in the midst of living and telling, reliving and retelling, the stories of the experiences that make up people's lives, both individual and social. Simply stated...narrative inquiry is stories lived and told.

This leads to an understanding of narrative adopted for this thesis as a method of inquiry which takes into account the temporal nature, personal, social and contextual aspects of experience (Clandinin and Connolly, 2000). Reflecting Bruner (1991); as we make sense of experiences to ourselves and in communicating these to others, "actions acquire meaning by gaining a place in a narrative of life" (Czarniawska, 2004b:5).

Narrative accounts as "retrospective interpretations" connect "events to human projects", offering "accounts of events occurring over time" (Søderberg, 2003:9) which include an "anticipated future" (Sharifi, 2003:230). That is, past events, current contexts and prospective futures contribute to shaping a narrative account (Czarniawska, 2008). Relevant to the organizing emphasis in this thesis, Czarniawska (2008) notes when we ask people of their experiences of organizing processes, they often recount these in the form of a narrative account. Employing a narrative inquiry therefore supports my research philosophy and focus upon experience, recognizing research as co-constructed, centres participants' voices and requires reflexivity (Chase, 2005; Czarniawska, 2004a; Riessman, 2002).

Recognizing narrating as contextual, the stories we can tell about ourselves, the stories we share with others, the stories we can draw upon in the process of narrating ourselves and our experiences are *also* social (Chase, 1995; Polkinghorne, 1995) highlights the fact that we narrate our experiences within contexts shaped by particular discourses, and our self-understandings "both shape and are shaped by these...discourses" (Chase, 1995:x). The accounts we give of our experiences can thus be understood as "ongoing discursive social accomplishments taking place in shared, taken-for-granted interactions between people" (Cunliffe, 2003:989). Recognizing discourse as social action enables an understanding of the discourses drawn upon as constitutive, constituting, or "speaking of" people (Carabine, 2001:293).

Understanding discourse as constitutive is associated with a Foucauldian approach to discourse (Carabine, 2001), which is widely drawn upon in organization studies (Alvesson and Deetz, 1996). The understanding of discourse in this thesis is outlined in detail in Section 4.3.1.1.

Bruner (1991:5 emphasis original) suggests there can be difficulties in separating “narrative mode of *thought* from... narrative *discourse*...As each enables and gives form to the other, just as the structure of language and the structure of thought eventually become inextricable”. Saukko (2000:300) suggests a “quilting mode of research” for an understanding of the subject as “double edged”, both constructed and capable of constructing, which works with the metaphor of the patchwork quilt. The research text produced seeks no centre, rather to produce a text which invites the reader to appreciate the resonances which unite the text by stitching together participants’ stories, appreciating the discourses particular to local settings are “part of a larger discursive panorama” (Saukko, 2000:303). This highlights the role of the researcher as “just one interpreter among other readers” (Calás and Smircich, 1999: 653), to (re)interpret and (re)construct the voices of research participants and the role of the reader in bringing additional and informative insights attesting to “the openness of both narratives and the meanings we can ascribe to them” (Blumenreich, 2004:79).

I have drawn upon this metaphor in constructing Chapter Five, where the intention of presenting the experiences in this way is to highlight the different ways in which participants interpreted, made sense of, and (re)presented their experiences. Using a “quilting” textual practice (Saukko, 2000:299) highlights no single authoritative account of career or organization, rather a polyphonous (re)presentation of experiences (Currie and Brown, 2003), before moving into Chapter Six where I offer interpretations of some of the discourses drawn upon in disabled academics’ narrative accounts as the “discursive resonances” between these voices (Saukko, 2000:299).

Voice is a central concern of narrative researchers; the voices of research participants, the researcher’s interpretive voice and how these should shape and be represented in research outputs (Chase, 2005; Connolly, 2007; Czarniawska, 2004a; Hoskins and Stoltz, 2005). Voice is also a concern in disability studies, as Roulstone (1998a) notes, disabled people’s voices should be central and reproduced within a text to evidence this concern with voice. Narrative inquiry is understood within this thesis as offering a setting for research participants to speak and be heard (Clandinin and Connolly, 2000), and as an approach which can “articulate muted, suppressed, and excluded voices, and in this way to re-situate dominant voices/stories” (McNamee and Hosking, 2006: 149).

Or as Riessman (2008) articulates, amplifies the voices of research participants, a more comfortable conceptualization of the role of the researcher.

4.3.1.1 Discourse

Discourse drawn from a Foucauldian framework is argued to offer an interconnected understanding of discourse, power and knowledge (Carabine, 2001). Discourse is seen as

sometimes...the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements (Foucault, 1972:8)

Carabine (2001:268) suggests research interests in discourse have a concern for the linguistic structuring of discourses, or can be concerned with “groups of related statements which cohere in some way to produce both meaning and effects in the real world”. The concern in this thesis is with the latter of these approaches, as it addresses a concern with “language and practice”, connecting what people say with what they do (Hall, 2001:72). Discourses are understood to constitute a pattern, a discursive formation across contexts (Hall, 2001) or discursive regime which “help[s] form our thinking, attitudes and behaviour and, by creating meanings, constitute the norms of acceptable conduct. It is through discourse, therefore, that we are persuaded to think and act in a certain way” (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1261).

Such an understanding enables a reading of discourse as productive, producing “the things of which they speak”, constituting, or speaking of people, and constructing particular versions of the topic of discourses as real, which come to have truth effects (Carabine, 2001:293). Discourses are also productive in interacting with, drawing upon and contributing to other discourses to have material effects (Carabine, 2001). That is, producing what is understood as the truth of a topic, shaping what is considered normal (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000), or “normative”, which can invalidate alternative accounts of that topic with implications for who can speak, about what, in different social contexts (Carabine, 2001:268). Carabine (2001:278) suggests normalization processes establish homogeneity, through processes of judging, measuring and comparing, constructing what is accepted as the norm, to which “all individuals should aim, work towards, seek to achieve, and against which all are measured”.

Such an understanding of discourse appreciates that “knowledge both constitutes and is constituted through discourse”, which requires a study of “the social context and social relations within which power and knowledge occur and are distributed” (Carabine, 2001:275).

Broader social discourses can “act as a resource and a constraint” (Hardy and Phillips, 1999:2) within organizing contexts constructing concepts, ideas, theories, objects which enable people to shape understandings and social relations (Hardy and Phillips, 1999) and through which they “discursively construct their space/place” (Mumby and Clair, 1997:189). Wider social discourses are understood to “form the contours of contexts guiding the development of local resources” (Kuhn, 2006:1342) producing such discursive resources, for example “concepts [or] expressions” (Kuhn, 2006:1341), for people seeking to “shape their institutional contexts” and if desired enable “different conditions of possibility” (Maguire and Hardy, 2006:23).

Chia (1996:108) argues “discursive formations” are open ended, and whilst social institutions, for example the academy, may strive to establish “what can be legitimately said” within their realms, these efforts can never fully close down alternatives discourses. Whilst discourse “structures the sayable. It does not structure or determine what is said, the emergent” (Townley, 2005:646), thereby leaving space for some understanding of agency, which recognizes a person may draw upon a number of discourses or resist dominant discourses (Thomas and Davies, 2005). Resistance can therefore be understood as “a constant process of adaptation, subversion and reinscription of dominant discourses” (Thomas and Davies, 2005:687). This view reflects Trowler’s (2001:184) observation that discursively orientated research in HE does not usually go so far as to suggest that “that discourses ‘speak the subject’”.

Discursive contradictions can be understood to be productive or even progressive (Sunderland, 2007), enabling space for resistance through creating space for competing or alternative discourses to challenge dominant discourses or effect change. Discourses, in establishing normative expectations, construct space for the ‘Other’, which paradoxically enables “alternative forms of knowledge” (Weedon (1997:108), or transgressive knowledges (Foucault, 1984) to emerge. Weedon (1997) for example, suggests reverse discourses as a term to explain how discourses such as feminism can establish “discursive space” (Weedon, 1997:107) through which dominant discourses on the limits of social relations or organizing can be challenged, contradicted, or reversed.

This is a relevant approach to discourse for this thesis as it reflects the constructionist orientation of the thesis, the understanding upon which the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) has been developed, and which is drawn upon for the interpretation of discourses in this thesis, outlined in Sections 4.4.3.1-4.4.3.6 below.

4.3.2 Case studies

This research used an instrumental case study strategy (Stake, 2005) to generate narrative accounts of experiences with individual disabled academics. Case studies are defined by their focus on “individual cases” and are characterized by specificity and being bounded (Stake, 1995, p. 236), each disabled academic’s account is thus seen as an individual case study. This approach supports an interest in individual cases, yet allowed me to move from the particularities of each case to “provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization” across cases (Stake, 2005:445), producing knowledge which enables theoretical propositions (Yin, 1994). Flyvberg (2004) argues case studies can contribute to general knowledge development through developing context specific knowledge which is central to the development of academic disciplines. This is particularly relevant for atypical cases (for example minority social groups) and by focusing in on everyday situations which offer depth rather than breadth of inquiry, drawing attention to narrative detail and highlighting insights from the complex stories (Flyvberg, 2004) participants construct which enables a “detailed understanding of social or organizational processes” (Hartley, 2004:323). This research strategy supported an inductive and iterative approach and enabled not only “planned but also emergent theory” (Hartley, 2004:324), as evidenced in this thesis through the shift of research focus and methodological choices reflexively reviewed in Chapter Seven Section 7.3.3.

The thesis focuses upon eight disabled academics’ career experiences. This supports the plurivocal emphasis of the thesis, whilst remaining consonant with guidance on qualitative research which suggests between four and ten cases (Eisenhardt, 1989), or eight interviews (McCracken, 1988) suffice. Additionally the narrative inquiry literature orientates the researcher to a smaller number of cases due to the uniqueness of each case which will produce voluminous and rich data (Lieblich et al., 1998).

Snowball sampling was used to identify participants, taking into account the potentially sensitive nature of researching disabled academics’ experiences (Vance, 2007), the low number of disabled academics known formally within universities (AUT, 2001; Lucas, 2008; Williams, 2006), and concern over anonymity if an overt organizational strategy had been employed. It was through “emerging relationships and contextual processes” that participants for this study were identified (Murphy, 1999:479) as I drew upon national networks established during my work in Human Resources, equality and diversity development work, involvement in national organizations to develop support for disabled students, and working on staff equality and diversity issues.

Snowball sampling is recognized as offering advantages when researching hard to reach social groups and what might be considered sensitive issues (Browne, 2005; Faugier and Sargeant, 1997; Scott, 2004b). However it is argued to be disadvantageous to case study research which seeks to achieve representation and to generalize the research outcomes (Stake, 2005). However, as I make no claims of representation or generalization, adopting snowball sampling does not compromise my research methodology. The research design process is outlined in Table 4.1 below.

No biographical data or employment affiliations of the disabled academics participating in this study are offered. This is in response to individual consent anonymity requests from research participants both during and after their interviews. Even simple categorizations such as participants' career journeys through sectors or types of universities, their broad discipline or faculty type (humanities, social sciences, medical and human sciences), gender, ethnicity, impairment type, congenital or acquired impairment, or grade/type of role (lecturer, senior lecturer, professor, researcher etc) when connected to the experiences discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 may enable participants to be identified, and are therefore excluded from this thesis. It is acknowledged that the exclusion of this data placed a limitation upon what could ethically be presented from the disabled academics' narrative accounts.

Research participants are given pseudonyms as a way for the reader to maintain a connection with each participant. Abigail, Catherine, Gina, Gregory, Holly, Jonathan, Samuel and Sophia are the pseudonyms given to the eight disabled academics whose careers are explored.

Research process stages	Actions taken
Development of interview questions	Initial research focused on organizational socialization, leading to developing a critical incident technique (CIT) interview guide – semi-structured questions organized around stages of critical incidents to explore organizational socialization experiences
Identification of research participants	Disabled academics identified through personal and professional networks and assistance from professional and academic contacts to pass on information about my study to disabled academics within their networks
Initial interviews	Initial four interviews carried out using the CIT interview guide. Interviews tape recorded
Transcription and review of interviews	Four interviews transcribed and sent to participants for reflective comments, additions, amendments Reflection on two interviews where interviewees did not follow planned CIT approach. Reflexive review led to focus upon career and narrative Return to and review of literature on narrative and development of narrative interview schedule including question on declaration from insights gained in first three interviews
Interviews	Contact with potential participants, research interview guide sent out by email and remaining five interviews carried out using narrative interview guide, providing nine interviews in total. Minor amendments made to order of wording of guide, including information I had originally given verbally
Transcription and review of interviews	Interviews transcribed and sent to participants for reflexive comments, additions, amendments
Analysis of interviews	VCRM analysis on all interviews Feedback and critique on analysis within VCRM group Addition of voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis (2005, 2007) to interpret and organize discourses identified through reading four Additional check for research process and stages of analysis met Carabine (2001) stages of discourse analysis
Member checking of analysis	Chapter Five written and reflexively reviewed by three participants. Comments and suggestions incorporated into thesis are discussed in Chapter Seven

Table 4. 1 Research design process

4.4 Research methods

4.4.1 Narrative interviews

As narrative of career experiences emerged as the focus of the thesis following a review of initial interviews, I adopted a form of narrative interviewing. Narrative interviewing differs from “classic in-depth interviewing” in producing detailed accounts of experiences rather than generalizations (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004:709). Producing accounts of experiences can be specific, neat and tidy, or open, fluid and traverse entire careers, thus there is no single form of narrative produced by narrative interviews. More of a conversation between researcher and participant (Czarniawska, 2004a), the researcher attempts to transform “the interviewer-interviewee relationship into one of narrator and listener”, an important conceptual shift that recognizes research participants as “narrators with...voices of their own” (Chase, 2005:660) to enable participants to maintain their own way of organizing meaning, requiring the researcher to “give up communicative power, and follow participants down their diverse trails” (Riessman, 2002:3).

To facilitate a narrative interview I reformulated my interview strategy towards lightly structured depth interviews (Wengraf, 2001), which enabled participants to choose their own approach to narrating their career and organizing experiences, aiming for minimum researcher input during the initial response to the interview question/s. However, as Lewis-Beck et al. (2004) suggest, research participants cannot be expected to provide a full, detailed narrative without support as the ability to describe does not exceed experience. I therefore attended to a participant’s narrative and supported their narration with a more conversational ‘probing’, following the flow of the experiences raised by research participants (Wengraf, 2001) to explore the issues raised after their initial narrations.

I explained the research aims and the interview technique to participants in advance and developed an interview guide for participants and a separate interview prompt sheet with the narrative research questions and possible prompts for myself (Appendix A and B). My concern to explain the approach was in recognition that participants, as academics, may have an opinion on research methods, without assuming they were familiar with my approach (Wiles et al., 2006).

I recorded and transcribed interviews to create a full narrative account, including paralinguistic details such as ahh, ummm, er (Elliott, 2005). Each participant, both those who participated in CIT and narrative interviews, were offered their interview text to review, amend or add reflexive comments as part of my reflexive approach, outcomes of which are discussed in Chapter Seven. Additional meetings or follow up interviews were offered if participants preferred, to discuss changes, deletions or additions. One participant only made themselves available for the initial interview, and another confirmed their transcription verbally rather than in writing. All others had sight of and made amendments to, or comments on, their interview texts. The first three participants to comment upon their interview texts expressed a strong dislike for the inclusion of paralinguistic details. Reviewing the literature I accepted this feedback, changing the format of the transcribed texts to “clean transcripts” tidying up “adding appropriate punctuation, removing pauses and false starts” (Elliott, 2005:52), appropriate where it is the content rather than the structure of the narrative account that is being interpreted (Elliott, 2005).

Nine interviews were carried out between 2003 and 2007; four during 2003, following which I lost touch with one participant who had participated in a CIT interview, as her circumstances changed during the initial phase of the study, and I located five participants in 2007. This timescale reflects my status initially as a part-time student, becoming a fulltime student upon receipt of a funded studentship at NBS and then a graduate tutor, and impairment related gaps.

I made minor adaptations to wording to the prompt sheets between interviews. Interviews lasted between fifty minutes and two hours and generated just over 106,300 words in transcribed texts. Details of the interview schedule are noted in Table 4.2 below. During the narrative interviews I made notes following the order of the experiences participants raised (Wengraf, 2001) in response to my first two open questions

- “Could I ask you to reflect back upon your career, and tell me how you came to be here? Tell me about the experiences and events that were important to you, and please begin wherever you want to begin”, and;
- “Would you tell me what it is like to be here? Again I’m interested in the experiences and events that are important to you about being in this organization.”

When participants had answered both questions I then returned to the experiences they had raised in the order they were narrated and asked for further elaboration (Wengraf, 2001).

This elicited additional and rich details of these experiences, and sometimes led participants to recall and offer details of other related experiences not originally included. Once we had worked through the list of experiences I had noted, I asked two further questions

- “Would you tell me if you have ever declared disability to an employer and if so what happened? If not why not?” and;
- “Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about?”

The third question emerged after the first two CIT interviews where I noted declaration was a particular issue the participants raised. The question did not yield significant amounts of specific information, rather it was when I analysed the text that declaration as an ongoing process emerged as woven through participants’ accounts, as an aspect of their experiences of organizing. I asked all participants if they would consider being involved in the research after the interviews as part of my reflexive approach involving reading and commenting upon Chapter Five of the thesis presenting my interpretations of their narrative career accounts. This was important in contributing to the overall trustworthiness of the research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), in seeking participants’ views on the interpretations I had made of their experiences, and whether the interpretations and insights I surfaced overall had resonance (Charmaz, 2000; Ellis and Bochner, 2000) with their experiences. The schedule of interviews, transcript reviews and reflexive readings are noted in Table 4.2.

Participant	Interview and location	Data (words) produced and length of interview	Transcript Review – reflexive comments	Reflexive review of Chapter Five
Samuel	May 2003 Samuel's office	8,587 - 1 hour 30 minutes	July 2003 comments on transcript	Requested – not available
Jonathan	June 2003 Jonathan's department	9,543 - 1 hour	Declined	Requested – no reply
Abigail	June 2003 Student support building	5,642 - 50 minutes (interrupted by building closure)	July 2003 comments on transcript	Deceased
Susan. Interview withdrawn as I lost contact with Susan	June 2003 Susan's office	6,783 - 1 hour	September 2003 comments on transcript	
Gina	April 2007 Department meeting room	8,637 – 1 hour	May 2007 Comments on transcript	Lost touch following change in employer
Sophia	July 2007. First interview suspended due to ill health of family member. Second interview one week later Sophia's home	23, 864 – 2 hours	November 2007 Comments on transcript	Sent by email June 2008 interview with follow up interview for comments June 2008– 19,713 words produced.
Catherine	September 2007	11,732 - 1 hour	November 2007 Comments on transcript	Sent by email June 2008, comments received by post and email June 2008
Holly	November 2007	21,861– 2 hours	January 2008 Comments on transcript	Sent by email July 2008, comments received by email July 2008
Gregory	September 2007 Office in student services	20,427– 1 hour 30 minutes	Confirmed verbally January 2008	Requested June and July 2008 – no reply

Table 4. 2 Interview and reflexive reading schedule

4.4.2 Analysing narrative accounts - voice-centred relational method

Czarniawska (2004a:663) suggests there is not and should not be any “one best method’ of narrative analysis”, proposing that authors should reach out to many and varied sources of inspiration, take account of their theoretical interests, calling for ‘inspired’ or ‘novel’ readings of narratives which develop an approach offering more “holistic, descriptive accounts of human experience” (Hoskins and Stoltz, 2005: 108). An additional factor in choosing a method of analysis for this thesis was to maintain a concern for participants’ voices as outlined in Section 4.3.1 whilst also maintaining an appreciation of the role of researcher voice and interpretive analysis, an issue often struggled over (Hoskins and Stoltz, 2005).

Taking these guiding principles into account, I identified the VCRM (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) as an approach to analysing the interview generated narrative accounts. The VCRM centres the voices of research participants, enables detailed attention to rich narrative accounts, yet also recognizes the subsequent interpretations and representations of these narratives as those of the researcher rather than suggesting participants’ voices speak for themselves. This supports the researcher in “translating epistemological conceptions of relational narrated subjects into research practice” (Doucet and Mauthner, 2008:404). In addition, the VCRM provides additional clarity and detail of the methods of data analysis, an issue argued to be a gap in qualitative research (Doucet and Mauthner, 2008; Mauthner and Doucet, 1998). Table 4.3 provides an overview of the VCRM reading guide.

Four readings of each narrative account through the VCRM (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) required me to remain focused upon the voices of participants, be reflexive in my assumptions and interpretations, attempt to understand participants’ views of themselves in their lives and worlds they inhabit, consider relationships which support or silence, and linked me to contextual factors important to the participants’ experiences.

Lawthom (2004:118) suggests these readings have a

distinct focus aim[ing] to span and track the individual’s agentic voice together with the voices of those in relationship with the individual, through to shared societal discourses.

Reading	Focus
Reading 1	<p>Focus upon reading the narrative for the ‘who, what, when and why’ (Brown and Gilligan, 1992), aiming to identify the protagonists and sub-plots, to find recurrent images, metaphors or words used, contradictions (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) and emotional resonances (Brown and Gilligan, 1992). Along with this are noted researcher reflections, bringing them into ‘responsive relationship’ with research participants (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998).</p> <p>Reading for: The ‘who, what, when and why’. Identify the plot, sub-plots, protagonists. To find recurrent images, metaphors or words used, contradictions, emotional resonances then place the researcher in relation to the participants, emotionally and intellectually. I highlighted my interpretations in grey, similarly adding my interpretations across all four readings in this way</p>
Reading 2	<p>Draw attention to the different voices of the participant, their ‘narrative location’, amplifies their voice, and seeks to understand how narrators speak of themselves, their views, perspectives “represent[ing] an attempt to hear the person, agent or actor voice their sense of agency, while also recognizing the social location of this person who is speaking” before the researcher speaks of them or moves onto comparisons across and between different narratives (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998:130).</p> <p>Reading for: How the participant speaks of herself</p>
Reading 3	<p>Change focus from the participant to their inter-personal relationships. Authors here emphasize differing relationships according to their theoretical interests. The focus for this thesis was upon the relationships which enabled or constrained disabled academics careers.</p> <p>Reading for: How the participant speaks about interpersonal relationships, with others and the broader social networks in which she lives and works. Relationships which the participant views as positive, and relationships which the participant views as difficult/constraining. “When relationships are narrowed and distorted by...stereotypes or used as opportunities for distancing...subordination, invalidation...or when relationships are...encouraging, freeing” (Brown and Gilligan, 1992:29)</p>
Reading 4	<p>Continue to move out from the participant to the wider cultural and social contexts (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998). In doing so attuning the researcher to the contextual norms and values, and dominant voices within such environments, for example discourses which can enable or constrain, and connects the “micro-level narratives with macro-level processes and structures” (Doucet and Mauthner, 2008:406).</p> <p>Reading for: The social structures (gender, class, nation, religion, race/ethnicity, age, sexuality) and social institutions (state, work, family) – how participants described contexts as constraining and/or enabling. “The ways in which institutionalized restraints and cultural norms and values become moral voices that silence voices, constrain the expression of feelings and thoughts, and consequently narrow relationships” (Brown and Gilligan, 1992:29), “signs of self-silencing or capitulation to debilitating cultural norms” (Brown and Gilligan, 1992:30)</p>

Table 4. 3 VCRM readings

Each reading draws the researcher's attention to aspects of the narrative text, with the intention of ensuring due care is taken in working with diverse aspects of the participant's voice before moving to the wider social context of the participant across participants' narrative accounts, and the extant literature. As such this approach does not constrain, but allows for fluidity and change in participants' voices, and the researcher to "trace [participants'] different voices and document their orchestration through the interview text" (Brown and Gilligan, 1993:15). Brown and Gilligan (1993:16) suggest this makes the approach a "responsive and resistant listener" guide, an approach which appeals against an apolitical reading of participants narratives. To track and annotate the four readings a worksheet was developed drawing upon Brown and Gilligan (1992) to record interpretations against participants' narratives. Table 4.4 provides an example of the Word template worksheet used to record the VCRM analysis process for Catherine's narrative account.

Narrative account	Reading 1	Reading 2	Reading 3	Reading 4
<p>Participant: I couldn't have done because I was working well Monday to Friday plus substantial parts of the weekend for the university all through last year and I just had to say "well, excuse me I'm not prepared to do that because this is actually not good for my health". The funny thing was that when I brought that up, even though different people have voiced their concern with workload, it was sort of presented back to me as if I was the one who was making a problem out of this</p> <p>I just said "Well look it does affect my health and I'm not happy for that to happen"</p> <p>Interviewer: mmmh</p>	<p>Plot summary notes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Catherine affected significantly in relation to her impairment leading to secondary impairment effects, and she notes that had she not been working with such a high workload/hours, she would not have experienced these difficulties. • Impact of this way of academic working, with a heavy workload, is in relation to her impairment, and increases her impairment effects. • Catherine is not prepared to accept this impact and is working on this at the moment by slowing herself down and discussing her concerns with her line manager, who has responded to her, acknowledging the issue. • Catherine understands the pressures she believes her manager to be under, around trying to get the most out of his team of staff, and feels uncertain about how quickly he can respond within such constraints. <p>Protagonist – manager draws Catherine in comparison to colleagues</p>	<p>..I couldn't have done..I was working well Monday to Friday plus substantial parts of the weekend... and I just had to say... I'm not prepared to do that... when I brought that up...(it was presented to me that) I was the one who was making a problem... I was actually asked...</p> <p>When talking about how she would like to pick up private practice after PhD notes how constrained by high workload and long hours in academia,</p> <p>..Well why is it that you, that you're making such a fuss..</p> <p>Why are you making a noise... and why is it a problem for you</p> <p>Response to challenging workloads was to individualise Catherine's request for better work balance</p> <p>I just said...and I'm not happy for that to happen.</p> <p>Deciding to speak up about the impact</p>	<p>when I brought that up, even though different people have voiced their concern with workload, it was sort of presented back to me as if I was the one who was making a problem out of this</p> <p>When Catherine spoke up about working hours she was isolated, the manager's response invalidated her experiences and voice. Expectation to silence herself, not to raise impairment related issues</p> <p>In next section Catherine recognizes the difficulties her manager is facing, acknowledging the pressure he has to get the most from the academics in his team</p> <p>"There is no doubt that he is under pressure to obviously get as much out of staff as possible and I don't know how immediately he can move within those constraints" which may be why she felt under pressure herself to work long hours.</p> <p>Connects with the literature on complexity of managing in HE, yet being prepared to challenge manager as highlighted in this section</p>	<p>I was working well Monday to Friday plus substantial parts of the weekend for the university... I'm not prepared to do that because this is actually not good for my health...</p> <p>Expectation of acceptance of academic work as a heavy workload refuted– not being prepared to accept long hours/slowing herself down/speaking to manager – resisting expectations of academia as a greedy institution, leaking into personal time and impact of how academic work organized in exacerbating impairment effects</p> <p>it was sort of presented back to me as if I was the one who was making a problem out of this –individualising impairment, Catherine's problem as different to colleagues' concerns. Catherine's refusal to accept this interpretation</p> <p>And I just said "well look it does affect my health and I'm not happy for that to happen" Catherine refused to be silenced over the issue, it was too important to her wellbeing. This could be interpreted as resistance – refusal to accept long hours/ high workload because of impact</p>

Table 4. 4 VCRM worksheet example from Catherine's narrative account
Greyscale are my readings

The process of reading the narrative accounts was also supported through group work with two fellow PhD researchers within NBS to explore, receive reflexive feedback and challenge my interpretations (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998). We met over a period of two years, approximately five times each year, developing and sharing different approaches to the VCRM. When reading the narrative accounts, I was consciously reading with the disability studies lens and my theoretical interest in career experiences in mind, rather than adding these as an additional or later reading, as the VCRM is recognized to be suitable for differing theoretical interests (Brown and Gilligan, 1992; Mauthner and Doucet, 1998). From the four readings, feedback on my interpretations from colleagues through the group work sessions, and an iterative process of moving back and forth between these and the disability studies and career literatures, I began to identify experiences which resonated across participants' narrative accounts and which I interpreted as offering insights into disabled academics' career experiences.

To move from the VCRM readings of narrative accounts to develop the clusters of career experiences in Chapter Five, I drew upon Strauss and Corbin's (1998) open coding process to highlight, extract, and collate examples of experiences I had interpreted through the four readings as resonating across participants' narratives. I initially categorized the extracts into groupings, before refining these to construct five clusters of experiences with exemplar extracts from the narrative accounts. Collating the experiences into clusters fits with the methodological assumptions of the thesis, as whilst it highlights resonances across the narrative accounts, it also highlights differences in the experiences and the ways in which participants interpreted, made sense of, and (re)presented their experiences. Categorizing the experiences as clusters reflects the "quilting" textual practice (Saukko, 2000:299) highlighting no single authoritative account of career or organization, rather a polyphonous (re)presentation of experiences (Currie and Brown, 2003).

Through reading four of the VCRM, social and individual interpretations of disability and a legislative discourse began to emerge as an area of interpretive interest. As I worked through and then across the participants' narrative accounts, a concern for voice (being heard), silence (being silenced and receiving silent responses), perceptions of difference and making requirements visible (feeling visible), and participants' concern with critiquing organizing processes as excluding their organizing requirements (invisibility) also began to surface.

I returned to the organization studies literature, looking broadly across studies concerned with organizing, discourse, voice and visibility and located Simpson and Lewis's voice and visibility framework (2005, 2007), which I interpreted as offering an approach to interpreting discourses and the work discourses do to construct what is considered appropriate and legitimate (Carabine, 2001) ways of organizing.

In addition to drawing upon Mauthner and Doucet (1998) and Brown and Gilligan (1992), and to develop the discourses through reading four, I identified Carabine (2001) as a means of bridging the readings of the VCRM method and the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) to interpret the work the discourses do in constructing, reproducing and mediating the social world. Carabine's (2001:280) approach is designed for a genealogical "snapshot" (Carabine, 2001:280) focused analysis. This supports analysis which does not seek to engage in a documentary historical analysis of discourses and social practices, rather acknowledges a genealogical approach so that "any text...that carries meaning may be analysed...including transcripts of...interviews" (Burr, 2003:170). This reflects the argument that genealogical analysis is open to adaptation by scholars interested in the social effects of discursive power (Prasad, 2009). As an epistemological project, genealogically influenced analysis is therefore concerned with bringing to light transgressive and hierarchical knowledge claims (Foucault, 1984), that is, recognizing normative truths as partial (Foucault, 1984; Weedon, 1997), with a desire to identify alternative knowledges which contribute to our understanding of the social world. Butler (1999:xxxi) argues for a genealogical approach which focuses upon categories of social relations which are the "effects of...practices, discourses of multiple and diffuse points of origin". This is appropriate to researching the discourses within and informing disabled academics narrative accounts, as it connects with Campbell's (2009b:5) argument that ableism "locates itself...in the arena of genealogies of knowledge".

Participants' narrative accounts are understood to offer a "snapshot" (Carabine, 2001:280), which connects the past to the present and prospective future (Czarniawska, 2008; Sharifi, 2003) of disabled academics' career experiences. This supports "an investigation of how we have become what we *are* today, which both reveals the limits of what we are and raises the possibility of being otherwise" (Chan, 2000:1059 emphasis in original). Carabine (2001) outlines a number of stages to a genealogical "snapshot" approach as "a dynamic process of interpretation and reinterpretation" rather than following a "recipe" of steps (Carabine, 2001:285).

I mapped the VCRM (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998), data coding process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) and voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) to ensure I addressed each stage of Carabine's (2001) approach. This enabled me to ensure cohesion across the frameworks I was drawing upon to interpret the narrative accounts, develop the clusters and to connect with the understanding of discourses within the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007).

I began by interpreting the discourses through the VCRM readings, moving within and then across the narrative accounts in the same way I had done to develop the clusters of experiences for Chapter Five. I drew upon Strauss and Corbin's (1998) open coding process to extract and collate exemplars of the discourses, interpreting these through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). Table 4.5 outlines how each stage is achieved through this thesis.

Process of reading and interpreting discourses and discursive strategies ¹	Actioned through disability studies lens, research methods, VCRM ² , data coding process ³ and voice and visibility framework ⁴
Select the topic	Narrative accounts of career experiences: focus emerging from early interviews
Know your data, read and re-read	Four readings of the VCRM, with an emphasis upon reading four
Identify themes or categories of discourses in the data Look for inter-relationships between discourses	Working through the disability studies lens, interpreting discourses and grouping examples by drawing upon the data coding process and voice and visibility framework to organize examples
Identify discursive strategies (how discourses are “deployed...the means by which a discourse is given meaning and force, and through which its object is defined” (Carabine, 2001:288)) Look for absences and silences Look for resistances and counter-discourses	Grouping discourses and examples of how discourses are used, (reverse-discourses, voice, silence visibility, invisibility, and resistance) and operate to construct, reproduce and maintain ways of organizing through the voice and visibility framework Focus upon ableism as an organizing principle in Chapter Six
Context 1 – outline the background to the issue	Through the clusters of career experiences outlined in Chapter Five
Context 2 – contextualize the material in terms of power and knowledge	Through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) identifying the work discourses do to shape disabled academics’ career experiences outlined in Chapter Six
Be aware of limitations of the research	Addressed in Chapter Seven (conclusion and reflexivity)

Table 4. 5 Interpreting and analyzing discourses

Adapted from Carabine (2001)¹; Mauthner and Doucet (1998)²; Strauss and Corbin (1998)³; Simpson and Lewis (2005, 2007)⁴

4.4.3 Interpreting discourses through the voice and visibility framework

The voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) was developed to explore the gender in organization studies literature through the concepts of voice and visibility. The framework develops voice and visibility conceptually outlying a 2 x 2 matrix of surface and deep conceptualizations to “move outside” of different theoretical approaches (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:1) to explore gender, inequality and exclusion (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). This theoretical approach enables an appreciation of the work discourses do to shape “thinking, attitudes and behaviour” (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:73), by drawing upon a Foucauldian influenced understanding to explicate how discourse contributes to shaping organizing processes (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007).

4.4.3.1 Voice and visibility framework

Voice and visibility have been conceptual concerns in a number of disciplines across the social sciences where the need to include women’s experiences in research and in shaping theory are emphasized (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). This echoes the importance of research and theory development including the voices and experiences of disabled people, within disability studies (Barnes et al., 2002; Begum, 1992; Crow, 1996; French, 1993; Morris, 1993a; Oliver and Barton, 2000; Thomas, 1999, 2007), and the desire to influence other disciplines (Erevelles, 2005; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Oliver, 1990).

Simpson and Lewis (2005:1260) argue that the emphasis in social sciences and gender literature on voice and visibility has been upon “surface states’ of exclusion, difference or neglect”, and how some “groups are not fully accepted or recognized” (Simpson and Lewis, 2005: 1258). Voice within the framework addresses both literal voice “the ability to speak and command attention” and voice and visibility in an abstract sense of “inclusion, exclusion and power” (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:19). Voice and visibility in this thesis is concerned with those people whose voices are marginalized within organizations and organization studies. Acknowledging this approach remains key in drawing attention to problematic areas of experience, and to “redress the state of absence and neglect of women’s voices and to bring in their voices and experiences” (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:9) to studies of organization, it is argued, research can benefit from further theorization which explores how the states of voice and visibility are discursively constructed, reproduced and maintained.

Drawing upon West and Fenstermaker (1995) Simpson and Lewis (2007:26 emphasis in original) suggest a move away from surface conceptualizations of difference as “characteristics...located in the individual”, and as an “*explanation*”, moving towards appreciating surface conceptualizations as an “*analytical point of departure*” to theorize how differences are “discursively produced”. This perspective reflects, and provides a means through which, the disability studies lens, concern to explore how disabled people’s experiences are discursively constructed (Corker, 1998; Corker and French, 1999), can be progressed. Additionally, this understanding enables an interpretation of the work discourses do to construct disabled people as different, or ‘Other’ (Campbell, 2009b; Morris, 1993a; Oliver, 1990; Shakespeare, 1994), in relation to a normative assumption of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994).

Whilst voice is conceptualized as “the ‘surface’ act of speaking and being heard”, in the voice and visibility framework, a deep conceptualization (silence) draws attention to “the processes that lie behind silence as...discursive practices eliminate certain issues from arenas of speech and sound”. A similar conceptualization for visibility outlines a surface interpretation focusing “on problems which relate to numerical imbalance and the visibility of the ‘token’ worker” and a deep conceptualization ((in)visibility) which “can usefully explore the power of ‘invisibility’ that accompanies the norm” (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1255-1256). (In)visibility maintains organizing norms which reflect categories of hierarchical social relations centring some people’s requirements whilst negating the requirements of others. This understanding sees the construction of hierarchical social relations as integral, rather than as an additional process, to neutral organizing processes.

Simpson and Lewis (2005:1255) suggest that the voice and visibility framework offers a theoretical frame a “foundation for further theoretical and empirical work”. The voice and visibility framework is therefore “operationalized” (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:80) here as a sensitizing “interpretive” device (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:9), to provide insights and theorize how discourses reproduced and/or drawn upon within disabled academics’ narrative career accounts shape their career experiences in ways which produce states of difference (Simpson and Lewis, 2007). The voice and visibility framework (as developed for the gender and organization literature) is reproduced in Table 4.6 with an additional summative note added to each level.

	Voice	Visibility
Surface conceptualization	<p>Explores the “different states of absence and neglect that accompany certain groups” (2005:1256)</p> <p>Inequality seen as a state of absence and neglect (weak presence)</p> <p>Emphasis on giving voice to difference and to women’s experiences</p> <p>e.g. women in management literature</p> <p>Pro-women’s voice transformational leadership research</p> <p>Draws on liberal and radical feminist principles</p>	<p>Explores how different groups are “isolated and marginalized from the dominant group” through visibility as different (2005:1258)</p> <p>Inequality seen as a state of exclusion and difference</p> <p>Visibility seen as a numerically disadvantaged state</p> <p>Focus on material practices and implications for women as ‘tokens’</p> <p>Invisibility associated with the power of the majority</p> <p>Draws on liberal feminist principles</p>
Deep conceptualization	<p>Explores how discourses silence through dominant discourses which “suppress and silence other contradictory or competing meanings” (2005:1261)</p> <p>Processes of silencing through discourses</p> <p>Focus on the power of silence and silence as an agent of power</p> <p>Focus on masculinity as hegemonic discourse</p> <p>Broadly post-structuralist interpretation</p>	<p>Explores how discourse “constitutes an on-going production of normalcy” and the (in)visibility and transparency of norms maintain the “normative standard case” (2005:1263)</p> <p>Processes of maintaining power through invisibility of the norm (strong presence)</p> <p>Contestations over the normative state and demands for visibility</p> <p>Focus on white masculinity as disembodied normativity</p> <p>Broadly post-structuralist interpretation</p>

Table 4. 6 Voice and visibility framework developed for the gender literature
Adapted and including additional summative notes in greyscale for this thesis (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1265)

The voice and visibility framework is therefore taken forward as an approach to theorize how discursive practices shape voice and visibility through processes of silencing and invisibility which maintain norms and which protect the interests of some and marginalize others; in this thesis a concern for disabled academics.

Having broadly outlined the voice and visibility framework above and connected the framework to the disability studies lens, an outline of the deep conceptualizations of silence and (in)visibility and how resistance can be understood to operate within the framework will be outlined next.

4.4.3.2 Silence within the voice and visibility framework

Understanding discourses as constructive, Simpson and Lewis (2005:1261) suggest meanings within organizations are framed around dominant discourses, which need to “suppress and silence other, contradictory or competing meanings”. This means that “ways of talking and being” which are “privileged” in dominant discourses are premised upon “omissions and evasions” (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1261), and dominant “representations depend on a devalued and silent/invisible ‘Other’ for legitimation” (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1261).

Silence can be achieved through what is “unexpressed”, what goes “‘unsaid’ can thus be illustrative of power being articulated” (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1261). This reflects an understanding that absence is a required contribution to the delineation of what can be said (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007), shaping what are considered ‘truths’ or knowledge in given contexts (Hall, 2001). Therefore dominant discourses can silence “competing discourses based on alternative values” (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:3). Silence can also be achieved through *the din* (Harlow et al., 1995), in response to issues or concerns raised, which can be understood as both the voices “of more powerful groups” drowning out the voices of others, and the *din* of silence (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:18). Silence can lead to those whose requirements are outside of established normative expectations being silenced and marginalized within organizing contexts, going unheard and their agendas (Simpson and Lewis, 2007) being perceived to lack legitimacy (Carabine, 2001).

4.4.3.3 (In)visibility within the voice and visibility framework

Drawing upon Foucault (1976) and de Beauvoir (1972), Simpson and Lewis (2005, 2007), suggest the work discourses do in positioning some people as different, as 'Other', is to protect normative standards and expectations which are associated with the normative order and those occupying a position of 'One'. The values and attributes associated with the position of 'One' are (in)visible, universalised, disembodied, and applied to all 'Others' (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). This leads to those defined as 'Other' being problematized and defined by their difference, whilst those occupying the position of 'One', established as a normative standard against which 'Others' are assessed, yet which "evade scrutiny and interrogation" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1261). This (in)visibility constructs a "transparency that accompanies the norm", meaning those who occupy the position of 'One' can "maintain their position of power partly because they represent the normative standard case" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1263) and progress as "unmarked", as the "standard body" against which all 'Other' bodies are "judged and identified as problematic for organizations" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1264).

4.4.3.4 Resistance in deep conceptualizations of silence and invisibility

Whilst those in the position of 'One' "have an interest in remaining unmarked and invisible" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005: 1264), dominant discourses which maintain such social arrangements can be resisted (Thomas and Davies, 2005; Weedon, 1997) The "norm can be contested and [become] a site for struggle as different groups challenge the dominant position" in their pursuit of recognition, albeit making themselves visible (as different) in the process (Simpson and Lewis, 2005: 1264). However, dominant discourses can produce counter-resistances, that is "moves of resistance...evoke counter-moves that undermine, contradict and subvert them" (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009:1121).

Whilst Weedon (1997) enables an understanding of resistance to dominant discourses, Kärreman and Alvesson (2009), argue dominant discourses can resist and counter resistance discourses, as they "enable...social agents to act in particular ways" (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009:1119). Similar to the conceptualization that dominant discourses shape truth effects (Carabine, 2001), resistance both against and in defence of norms can be understood to inform the deep conceptualizations of silence and (in)visibility.

4.4.3.5 Contradictions and paradoxes across and between voice and visibility

Contradictions across and between the levels of the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) can be addressed. For example, whilst social categories such as gender are theoretically centred in the analysis of organizational behaviour, research participants' voices may downplay the saliency of gender, or claim organization processes and practices are "gender free" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1269). Analysis through the voice and visibility framework can highlight how participants seeking to keep such issues out of their narratives attests to an "unacknowledged awareness of its centrality" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1269).

Similarly, the possibility of having an interest in being both invisible and visible can be surfaced. Where, for example, invisibility may offer alignment with normative expectations and therefore leave a person unmarked as 'different', there may also be advantages to being visible when seeking recognition for issues or concerns that had previously "been hidden from view" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1270). Yet such an approach may result in a "heightened visibility" of such differences to the anticipated norm (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1270).

4.4.3.6 Taking forward the voice and visibility framework

The voice and visibility framework is taken forward as an approach to interpreting the work done by discourses drawn upon in disabled academics' narrative accounts. This is understood to enable an interpretive approach which emphasizes the construction of meanings and assumptions infusing organizing processes of "actions, interactions and relationships" (Chia, 1995:585), which shape organizing practices, and which can enable or constrain the interests of members of different social groups.

Table 4.7 summarizes how the voice and visibility framework will be taken forward in this thesis.

	Voice	Visibility
Surface conceptualization Enables the different experiences and requirements of social groups to be voiced	<p>Explores the “different states of absence and neglect that accompany certain groups” (2005:1256)</p> <p>Concern for absence and neglect of voice</p> <p>Emphasis on giving voice to difference and to experiences</p> <p>Voice is recognized as drawing attention to marginalized voices and experiences, problematic areas of experience to redress absence and neglect</p>	<p>Explores how different groups are “isolated and marginalized from the dominant group” through their visibility as different (2005:1258)</p> <p>Concern for states of exclusion and difference</p> <p>Visibility as difference</p> <p>Invisibility associated with the power of the majority</p>
Deep conceptualization Explores the work discourses do to shape organizing norms, including attention to resistance and counter resistances	<p>Explores how discourses silence through dominant discourses which “suppress and silence other contradictory or competing meanings” (2005:1261)</p> <p>Processes of silencing through discourses</p> <p>Focus on the power of silence and silence as an agent of power. Alternatively silence through din</p> <p>Focus on how hegemonic discourses maintain normative position through silence</p>	<p>Explores how discourse “constitutes an on-going production of normalcy” and the (in)visibility and transparency of norms maintain the “normative standard case” (2005:1263)</p> <p>Processes of maintaining power through (in)visibility of the norm (strong presence)</p> <p>(In)visibility through association with the norm</p> <p>Contestations over the normative state and demands for visibility</p> <p>Focus on disembodied normativity</p>

Table 4. 7 Voice and visibility framework adapted for this thesis

Adapted from Simpson and Lewis (2005, 2007)

4.5 Evaluative framework

Criteria with which to assess and evaluate research quality is of concern for all research, and it is recognized that to assess research fairly, relevant evaluative criteria which reflects the underpinning assumptions of the research (Johnson et al., 2006; Riessman, 2008), and which reflect the knowledge, or truth, claims being made (Elliott, 2005) should be adopted.

Rather than seeking a notion of 'truth' as externally verifiable it is recognized that narrative truths are always partial, incomplete, and contextually produced (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Riessman, 2008). Narratives, it is suggested, "do not establish the truth of...events, nor does narrative reflect the truth of experience...in this sense, narratives are reflections on-not of- the world as it is known" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:xi-xiii). The complexity and emergence, or "temporal unfolding of human lives", precludes and makes inappropriate any attempt to demonstrate "certainty" of knowledge claims (Polkinghorne, 2007:477) in interpretive and narrative research. Narrative research is concerned with the meaning and interpretation of experiences (Elliott, 2005) offering "interpretive insights" (Cunliffe, 2008:126) into "how people understand situations, others, and themselves" Polkinghorne (2007:476). This suggests that the criteria for assessing research which considers the "acceptability of a description may be more appropriate" (Hosking and Fineman, 1990:584).

Polkinghorne (2007: 477) argues readers are therefore asked to assess whether interpretations and knowledge claims "convinces them at the level of plausibility, credibleness, or trustworthiness of the claim". Riessman suggests there are two main concerns to be addressed when assessing narrative research; "the story told by a research participant and...the story told by the researcher", which leads to a focus for narrative researchers to establish the "trustworthiness of stories they collect, and the analytic stories they develop from them" (Riessman, 2008:185). This reflects an acceptance that narrative research accounts for and is limited in achieving full awareness of the complexity of motives informing the particular actions they are given access to by research participants (Polkinghorne, 1995).

Recognizing the temporal understanding of consensus emphasizes the trustworthiness criteria as orientated towards "processes and outcomes...rather than the application of methods" (Lincoln and Guba, 2000:180 emphasis in original).

Therefore in keeping with the emergent and processual orientation of this thesis, with the extended trustworthiness criteria (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Guba and Lincoln, 1989) as an evaluative framework emphasizing processes and outcomes is drawn upon. Lincoln and Guba (1985) outline a trustworthiness framework for the interpretive study of the social world (Seale, 1999), which enables a researcher to outline how she will persuade her audience (and herself) that research findings are “worth taking account of” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:290). Five criteria are suggested to contribute to establishing the trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) of this research; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, with authenticity added later to the framework (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). Following Chapters Five and Six, these criteria will be reviewed to assess how each has been addressed through the research processes informing this thesis.

4.6 Chapter summary

Contributing to answering the research question “What can disabled academics’ career experiences offer to studies of organization?”, this chapter has outlined the epistemological and ontological orientation underpinning this thesis, the rationale for the methodological choices shaping this thesis, and a detailed account of the research process. The chapter highlighted the VCRM (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998), genealogical “snapshot” (Carabine, 2001:280), and voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) which were drawn upon to inform the interpretation of disabled academics’ narrative accounts. The evaluative framework to be drawn upon in Chapter Seven to assess this thesis was introduced.

Chapter Five – Disabled academics' career experiences

5.1 Introduction

Following the development of a disability studies lens, a review of organization studies in Chapter Three identified the potential of disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis in organization studies. The boundaryless and academic career literatures were identified as means of evincing this argument. Whilst career boundaries were recognized as a means of developing the boundaryless career, and academic careers as role models for the boundaryless career, both were argued to lack empirical and theoretical insights to disabled academics' career experiences. This chapter aims to change the subject, placing disabled academics centre stage as knowledge producers (Campbell, 2009b; Hughes, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990, 1996; Thomas, 2007), and outline detailed (re)interpretations of disabled academics' narrative accounts of career experiences. In doing so, the chapter will identify some of the career boundaries experienced, contributing to both the boundaryless and academic career literatures. This chapter will contribute to answering the research question:

- *What can disabled academics' career experiences offer to studies of organization?*

Through the following objectives:

- *To offer in-depth interpretations of disabled academics' career experiences, identifying both similarities and differences in and between these experiences*
- *To identify insights from the empirical study of disabled academics' career experiences which contribute to the understanding of disabled academics' career boundaries*

5.2 (Re)interpreting and (re)presenting disabled academics' career experiences

An initial challenge in the presentation of empirical materials (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000) in this chapter was working from unstructured narrative interviews, which aimed to amplify participants' voices (Riessman, 2008). The presentation of participants' experiences was further tempered by ethical considerations of anonymity and confidentiality required by the disabled academics which limited some of the narrative account details from being included in this chapter. However, as the analysis progressed, and I moved within and between the narrative accounts, a number of insights from participants' narratives around shared areas of experience emerged, which could be presented here, within the constraints of anonymity and confidentiality required by participants.

These experiences are presented in this chapter as clusters. The intention of presenting the experiences in this way reflects the processual focus of this thesis, emphasizing micro-processes of organizing which orientates attention to the “actions, interactions, and the local orchestration of relationships” (Chia, 1995:581) in disabled academics’ career contexts. To highlight the different ways in which participants interpreted, made sense of, and (re)presented their experiences, a “quilting” textual practice (Saukko, 2000:299) is used, which highlights no single authoritative account of career or organization, rather a polyphonous (re)presentation of experiences encouraging polysemy to be recognized (Currie and Brown, 2003) in each cluster. These are presented, before moving into Chapter Six where I present the “discursive resonances” (Saukko, 2000:299) between participants’ voices, drawing upon the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005) to organize and (re)interpret the work the discourses, which begin to surface in this chapter, do to construct, reproduce and maintain what is considered appropriate and legitimate (Carabine, 2001) ways of organizing, and which contribute to shaping disabled academics’ career experiences.

Presenting the experiences as clusters is not to suggest that the experiences and boundaries are distinct or separated from each other, nor that they are static. This form of presentation is for the purposes of analytical distinction and a means of enabling the reader to explore the inter-relatedness of participants’ experiences in a manageable format. As the reader moves through the clusters, connections and links between the clustered experiences are highlighted.

I recognize that this is a lengthy chapter, as my aim of demonstrating polysemy and plurivocality and my commitment to amplifying the voices of disabled academics led me to include an example of each participant’s experience in each cluster, aiming to give a sense of their narrative account without revealing a pattern in the (re)presentation which may enable participants to be identified. In Chapter Seven Section 7.3.4 I have reflexively reviewed the decision to maintain this format.

As outlined in Chapters One and Four, in choosing to research disabled academics I have engaged in a form of narrative inquiry which researches my own context, and through this research I have travelled with (Clandinin and Connolly, 2000) my research participants on my own journey (Ellis and Bochner, 2000) as a becoming (Chia, 1995) disabled academic, initially as a PhD student and then as a Graduate Tutor at NBS.

My voice is present as researcher in the (re)interpretations I have made of participants' narrative accounts and some of the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three, and as the researched as I include and weave my own experiences as a disabled academic around participants' narratives.

The disabled academics in this research identify a number of ways in which their careers are shaped; through their career choices in relation to impairment effects, organizing processes and practices, and within their working relationships and academic and organizational networks. These (re)interpretations are organized and presented in clusters around participants' experiences which highlight the ways in which disabled academics' careers were (re)interpreted highlighting subjective and contextual boundaries and which demonstrate the consequent impact upon their career choices and development. Each cluster is summarized to support the reader to move through the chapter, before reaching the chapter discussion and summary.

5.3 Cluster 1 – impairment effects and career choices

The disabled academics in this study included experiences of a range of impairment effects within their narratives, and identified a number of ways in which they responded to their impairment effects and in doing so, the extent to which impairment effects were a consideration or impacted upon their careers choices. By including impairment effects within this chapter, I recognize this as a contentious issue within the disability studies field, yet at the same time as an important issue raised by the participants within this study, and an issue that resonates with my own career experiences. The aim is to reflect a view of impairment and impairment effects as a regular aspect of disabled academics' career experiences (as explored in Chapter Two). The consequences of which, if accepted, informs career theory in developing an understanding of the ways in which some disabled academics aim legitimately to work as a person with impairment effects, and what they seek to have recognized and mainstreamed within their organizing contexts, or not, within their work remit and organizing processes and practices.⁹

⁹ Work remit is used here as a term which incorporates work patterns, work responsibilities and workloads, as a means of categorizing activities research participants discussed in terms of the ways in which their work remits changed in relation to their impairments/impairment effects and organizing experiences.

Sophia talked in some detail about the ways in which impairments and impairment effects (which fluctuate) significantly affect her energy levels, vision and mobility leaving Sophia at times immobile and exhausted. Sophia manages her impairment effects by managing her fatigue levels, and in doing so, is able to allocate her time and energy to work tasks. The relevance of seeking to manage impairment effects for Sophia, in relation to her career, is in the type of academic work she can and will consider undertaking, and the consequences of this upon career options available to her

I can't apply for teaching jobs, that's too much face to face time, I couldn't do that, it wouldn't be fair to the students, it certainly wouldn't be fair to me. You start to look at all those things, some of them practical some of them insurmountable, what it comes down to is 'it's got to be this way or it doesn't work', and you really narrow down the choice.

When Sophia does apply for work, she provides potential employers with a list of the assistive technology she will use, and the ways in which she will work, the adjustments she expects, and in doing so, indicates her expectations of employers to acknowledge these requirements.

For Sophia academia offers the opportunity to work, as she sees there being more opportunities for goal orientated posts, something Sophia perceives as achievable

People have said 'well, you've got so many skills couldn't you have worked outside of academia?', and I've said 'yes but the only place that I've found that genuinely judges you by the goals you'll achieve is academia, everywhere else there is a substantial amount of judgement of bum in seat.

However, as Sophia balances her work remit and impairment effects, she notes the range of career options available are likely to be reduced, and less likely to be senior positions

As I get more senior I am expected to contribute more to things that require continuity, ethics, governance, PhD supervision, masters supervision, teaching, organization of courses, you know.

Sophia anticipates the need for continuity in senior roles as being in tension with the way in which she works once she takes into account her impairment effects and her desire to be able to work and maintain a decent level of good health.

If I had a nine o'clock every Monday morning I'd break. Now I know that, that's a bit tight, so there's a, there isn't much range, it's like walking a tightrope there isn't a hell of a lot of range of movement that I have around what it is I can do.

Sophia's recognition of the conflict between normative work practices and her requirements as a disabled academic resonates with Shakespeare's (2006) argument that work practices are premised upon assumed non-disability and affect the ability to work of people who require impairment effects to be accommodated. Sophia identifies the way this has influenced the career choices she has made, and the extent to which her career path (having moved between sectors and between administrative and academic work) and career mobility is perceived by others as disjointed. If Sophia's career path is considered within the context of working as a person with impairments, and were career decisions influenced by impairment effects to be included within current understandings or expectations of career journeys, Sophia argues it would make sense

And also because I've jumped from field to field... so people ask why did you do that? Well I became ill, do they want to hear it?

Whilst Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest multiple career paths is an accepted aspect of academic career mobility, Sophia's experiences suggest career moves related to accommodating impairment effects are not necessarily recognized. Sophia's narrative also directs us to reflect upon the extent to which being a disabled academic means working with impairment effects, and begins to highlight how impairment effects and career choices are intertwined and are an important consideration for disabled academics.

Samuel acquired a mobility impairment after an employment related accident whilst an academic. Following this, Samuel suggested he needed to re-assess how he would continue with his career. However, this was not a fast process, Samuel's initial response to his new circumstances was to spend just under three years writing up pre-accident research, and not to become involved in new research outside of his university environment. Samuel, at that time, perceived he was no longer able to participate in the fieldwork aspect of his role

I had a lot of work to write up and things, to that extent it was probably good because I couldn't go out I wrote stuff up that I had already done.

Through an invitation to an academic workshop in Europe, Samuel gained confidence to travel once again and return to academic fieldwork in Europe, overcoming his own resistance to returning to this aspect of his role

That probably was quite a big step to go completely out of my domestic environment and of course once you've done that it's one of these events after that you're 'right well get out of the way, stand back' sort of thing.

In returning to the fieldwork aspect of his role, Samuel adapted his practice, using a student as a driver for travel to and between research sites, and as a proxy to collect fieldwork samples under instruction. Samuel's response was also to reshape his role and his contribution within his school by increasing his administrative responsibilities, providing research methods support for colleagues and postgraduate students, and to disability equality within his university, all of which Samuel highly values.

For **Jonathan**, impairment effects mean taking care over lifting or carrying heavy objects, and not becoming over involved in work related physical activities. When Jonathan's levels of mobility decreased, Jonathan recognized he needed to leave one academic role, which involved rail travel of over two hundred miles return, a journey which Jonathan perceived as unsustainable. Jonathan's decision was influenced by his experiences of impairment effects and recognition of the way in which they constructed a boundary to his career options

I was only travelling down you know for one day a week or whatever, but it was still quite a trek so ultimately I gave up that job ... I know I couldn't sustain that because of the travel and physically. Which is interesting in a way, well it's, lots, well one of my colleagues lives in [another city one hundred and fifty miles away] and works here. I think it does restrict your options if you are physically not so able to travel.

Like Sophia, Jonathan sees an academic career as offering some flexibility when working with impairment effects

I've got a lot of control over my way of working and because I have an intermittent physical, the impairment, physical problems are intermittent, so it might be like last [period of time], you know, for a couple of months I wasn't quite bed bound, but I was severely incapacitated...no-one was going to chase up, at least not for a while, so long as you're doing the work.

Sophia and Jonathan's experiences of academic work being flexible to accommodate working patterns and working arrangements such as working from home, and the emphasis upon outputs resonates with Baruch and Hall's (2004b) suggestion that flexibility is an enabling feature of academic careers.

Gina's impairment effects mean, like Jonathan, she avoids long journeys, or lifting or stretching for any type of weight. Gina also needs to remain ambulant, and as such paces tasks to build in time to allow for this, using painkillers to manage pain levels. To date, Gina's response to impairment effects and expectations of how to work inclusively are tied to her expectations of employers to accommodate her impairment effects through adjusting her work remit.

This includes the ways in which she can negate impairment effects such as pain, rather than her impairment effects explicitly influencing the career choices she makes. Gina notes in response to the varying experiences she has had since becoming disabled that she assesses employers on how quickly and effectively they respond to her requests, and whether their response to her requirements makes her feel different

I find that I'm assessing them on a scale... I think my scale would be based on the length of time it takes to respond to things would be one scale and my second scale would be how different and awkward do they make me feel.

Unfortunately Gina has found her most recent university employer significantly lacking, not only in the time it took to respond, but also in how staff responses made Gina feel marginalized, this is discussed further in Cluster 3.

Like Gina and Sophia, **Holly's** emphasis is upon her expectations that her employer will accommodate the ways in which she works to accommodate her impairment effects. Holly's experience was of impairment effects developing over a number of years and increasing in impact. This led to a significant gap in Holly's CV at a critical time, between collecting data and completing research grant related publications

I should have had loads of publications from the data, but ...by the time I came back the data was dead the whole issue had moved on, so I had collected all of this data for nothing. And it was really frustrating...I probably would have been publishing my guts out and then gone for promotion and easily got it.

Returning to work, Holly takes great care to manage her impairment effects, and as such aims to secure a work remit which allows her to do so

I need my timetable spaced, because I still [experience impairment effects], I mean nothing like I used to be, but I know that the reason I operate alright now is because I plan [activities in line with my impairment effects] I, you know, I just collapse.

Over time, and in Holly's current context, Holly has developed an acceptable working remit of decreased large group or long teaching sessions which would require standing for long periods of time, increased small group teaching and increased activities such as marking student work, postgraduate and PhD supervisions, which can be paced over a manageable period of time, and using time between teaching or other face to face activities to rest. How easily Holly is able to maintain this work remit is returned to in Cluster 3.

Abigail identified that impairment effects have reduced her capacity to work over long periods in a day, and in fluctuating, that she is unable to predict her ability to work in advance, and therefore operates on a day to day basis. Abigail often loses her summer due to the onset of impairment effects towards the end of the teaching academic year, which she feels frustrated and resentful about, finds wearing, and through which she loses the time which would have been used for research

Unfortunately that seems to be a pattern that it tends to occur in the spring and going into the summer time which is quite, which is something that makes me quite resentful towards the illness. I've been ill again this summer for the last three months, so that can be quite hard to deal with on a personal level. I think on a whole life level for that to happen in the summer.

I lost my research time, which was quite difficult, and that's been happening again this summer I've been losing research time.

Abigail also finds her impairment effects and the medication she requires affects her daily activities, leaving her, again, deeply frustrated

You know I can't sit through something that is two, three hours long I just can't do it now because my attention span is shorter. That impacts on your working days as well because concentrated periods of focus have to be reduced down to two, three hours it's not a full day of writing. You can never write for two, three hours and that's the medication having an impact on how you organize, on how I organize around my working day.

Abigail reflected upon the extent to which her impairment effects have made her aware of the influence upon her career

What I tend to think is I probably could have gone up the career ladder rather quicker if I had been able to produce to full capacity.

Abigail's experiences and her interpretations draw our attention to the ways in which disabled academics are assessed against normative performance standards and patterns which sets a work capacity against which disabled academics will be assessed, and which may be unrealistic for some; an issue returned to in Cluster 3.

Gregory recognizes his impairment effects as an aspect of his career experiences; they are a frustration and at times create some difficulties. Gregory talks of his mobility related impairment effects in terms of the ways in which they have changed the nature of his working day schedule, from the additional three hours required each day for personal care (across mornings and evenings), to the additional time it takes to negotiate the physical environment, within his own or other organizations.

Gregory's experiences connect to a wider recognition of the additional work disabled people do, yet which is not socially codified (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris 1996, Thomas; 1999) and therefore not legitimated (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) within organizing contexts.

Gregory's experience of this extends to attendance at large city-wide academic conferences

You know...you can't always go the direct way or the easy way, you've got to use lifts, so you can't move around quickly, and it's just murder, so I just spent the whole time sat out the front of it in a café watching people go by. I thought well there's absolutely no point doing this.

Gregory's response is then to focus upon smaller scale conferences, where the impact of his mobility impairment is minimised. As academic careers are premised upon networking (Baruch and Hall, 2004b; Kaulisch and Enders, 2005), there are therefore career boundaries for disabled academics like Gregory whose access to such activities is limited.

Sophia also raises the impact of impairment effects upon her participation in conferences and the extent to which the ways in which she manages impairment effects, by focusing her energy upon attending main conference activities, reduces the time available to participate in informal evening activities. Mankin (2007) highlights the importance of accessing formal and informal knowledge sharing opportunities for an academic career, and engaging in academic conferences is an important way of doing so. These issues are returned to in Cluster 5.

Like Sophia and Holly, Gregory has a gap in his career, having recuperated for a year after the accident which led to his impairment. For Gregory, unlike Sophia and Holly, this is not something he accredits as directly impacting upon his career, possibly as the gap was before he entered academia, whereas for Sophia and Holly the gap was during academic employment, and significant in relation to their career experiences, explored further in Cluster 3 on negotiating the organization.

Gregory highlights the good relationship he has with impairment related health care providers as being an important factor he took into account when considering two potential career moves, which he declined

I'm pretty dependant on quite a few hospitals and things like that. I've been [type of injury] injured and I'm [additional impairment] as well... so I'm very much reliant on those (health care providers), and I like the way that I'm treated by the health service and I've got a good relationship with... the [specialist] hospital at [location] and [specialist hospital], the doctors in the [home location] are absolutely fantastic, so I always sort of say, hang on, you know, I don't really want to move, because I'm very comfortable with the way they are, and probably staying alive is one of the most important things.

This connects with Shah's (2005) suggestion that the desire to remain close to impairment health related services may be a factor in disabled academics' career decisions.

Catherine's approach to managing impairment effects is similarly integral to the career choices she has made, ranging from her choice of field of practice, between the sectors and the organizational environments Catherine sees as suitable, and informing the ways in which she performs everyday tasks as part of her professional practice (as a practitioner academic).

Catherine adopts an approach which negates the impact of her impairment effects from requiring her to work in a way that differed significantly from normative practices and expectations within her field. Catherine has positioned herself throughout her career choices in such a way that she has avoided many of the ways in which her impairment effects might visibly interact with her work. This is reflected in how Catherine considers other may perceive her

Perhaps some people think "oh well actually thinking about it she is quite disabled, or she has a considerable impairment, let's put it like that, but she doesn't let it affect what she does".

This considered and conscious approach extends to the ways in which Catherine works within her academic and practitioner fields, maintaining a level of ambulatory movement in a day, avoiding long periods of stillness, taking care over how and the length of time she sits, stands, or stretches. In Catherine's role as a practitioner academic this translates into being meticulous in her use of equipment, thinking laterally about how to achieve tasks and limiting the type of organization where she will work, which led Catherine to academia.

Early in Catherine's interview this preference towards the negation of impairment effects can be seen in her choice of field of practice

It's quite interesting because I, my career was shaped and has been shaped by my disability to some extent. I, for example, as a student already, I realised that I was going to have problems for example working with [particular client group] because my own balance is not such that I could....it can be very heavy physically and I didn't feel that that was a road which I should choose.

Also in Catherine's choice of sector

I felt that because of my disability it was probably not a wise choice for me to work for the NHS or just in clinical [work] until I was sixty or something like that, and I thought that lecturing or at least part time lecturing might be an easier physical option for me.

Catherine's anticipation early in her narrative account is that academia will be a working environment where she can negate impairment effects interacting with, and therefore changing, the way that she chooses to practice. As such Catherine's career choices have been influenced through the ways in which she has sought to ensure she can work within the normative expectations of her field and excludes the visibility of her impairment effects, returned to in Cluster 2.

Catherine notes that whilst her impairment effects have affected her career choices, she does not perceive this to be detrimental

So, it's funny isn't it I tend to think that it hasn't affected my career but it really has and, but I don't think it has affected it adversely, so it affected my career choices but I don't think it affected the way my career has progressed or anything like that.

5.3.1 Cluster 1 discussion – impairment effects and career choices

The disability studies lens developed for this thesis surfaced experiences of impairment, through the concept of impairment effects (Thomas, 1999, 2004b, 2007) as an important consideration in the experiences of disabled people. This cluster of disabled academics' career experiences has identified how impairment effects within HE organizing contexts are important considerations and impact upon the career choices of disabled academics, with implications for how and which career opportunities are pursued, or not, and limiting choices of suitable employers or work (French, 2001; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Shah, 2005; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008).

Impairment effects are here shown to be an important consideration within disabled academics' careers, in some instances affecting the career options considered to be available, suitable, or pursued, supporting Shakespeare's (2006) suggestion that impairment is a factor in disabled people's decisions upon suitable work, and beginning to bring into focus the importance of acknowledging impairment effects as a career boundary (Gunz et al., 2000; Gunz et al., 2007; Pringle and Mallon, 2003) within disabled academics' career experiences.

Some participants can be interpreted as seeking career options that would negate impairment effects as integral to working arrangements, and as such can be interpreted as aiming to assimilate to organizing norms and expectations, rendering their impairment effects invisible within their working lives. Interpreting these accounts as a desire for impairment effect invisibility in career choices is not to suggest that such decisions are context free. As Harlan and Robert (1998) suggest, the decision to meet normative expectations can be as a survival mechanism in work contexts which are not inclusive. Additionally, disabled academics may engage proactively or reactively, or a synthesis of the two (Duberley et al., 2006), as they negotiate career contexts, which highlights the emergent nature of negotiating career contexts and acknowledges the complexity of the relationship between organizing contexts and career decisions.

Other disabled academics can be understood to have sought an organizationally inclusive response to ways of working which acknowledge and include impairment effects in organizing processes and practices, and as such demonstrates their understanding of the legitimacy of working and organizing as a person with impairments. However, as Sophia's experience highlighted in this cluster, and which Sophia re-iterated when reviewing this chapter; to require inclusive ways of working can have a negative impact upon one's career. Sophia highlighted how career options were limited where organizing processes and practices premised upon non-impairment norms conflicted with or did not accommodate working with impairment effects, despite being sought.

In drawing upon impairment effects to contribute to our understanding of disabled academics' career experiences, this cluster of experiences highlights how seeking to work with impairment effects contributes to fragmenting the private/public divide (Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris 1996, Thomas; 1999) between what may be considered to be a personal or a social concern or a concern within the workplace (Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Goodley, 2001).

An additional dimension to the fragmentation of what is considered a private or public concern is to include the additional work disabled academics do within the theorization of disability and work (Barnes and Mercer, 2005), surfaced in this cluster around self-care and mobility as Gregory's experience highlighted.

Impairment effects and the additional work disabled academics do usually take place outside of the social gaze (Barnes and Mercer, 2005), and thus are not socially codified (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris 1996, Thomas; 1999), and are socially invisible, not recognized within career or organization studies as an integral aspect of working. Yet these are factors within disabled academics' experiences of career and organizing. Attempting to codify disabled academics requirements through acknowledging impairment effects as a legitimate organizing principle requires engaging in "social negotiations and legitimacy claims for altering interactions" (Deegan, 2000:272/3). The issue of legitimacy claims for disabled academics working with impairment effects are a recurring concern through the following clusters and is an issue taken forward into Chapter Six.

The flexibility of academic work, argued by Baruch and Hall (2004b) to connect academic to boundaryless careers, is recognized here to potentially enable disabled academics' careers, as Sophia and Jonathan highlight in this cluster. However, whilst Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest multiple career paths is an accepted aspect of academic career mobility, mobility (or non-mobility) in response to impairment effects fall outside those recognized by Baruch and Hall (2004b).

The experiences highlighted in this cluster connect more closely with the experiences highlighted by French (1998), Shah (2005) and Shakespeare (2006) and the suggestion of Boden et al. (2005), that impairment effects influence career choices, a recognition of which is absent within the mainstream academic and boundaryless career literatures. Recognition of impairment effects as a career boundary and a factor shaping academic career decisions contributes to the notion of reconstructing work, to accommodate the everyday experiences of disabled people by bringing into focus impairment effects; leading to different requirements which may be integral to working and organizing for disabled academics.

This cluster of experiences affirms the importance of including experiences of impairment within research on disability and work (Lock et al., 2005; Roulstone, 1998a; Roulstone et al., 2003) and career (Shah, 2005) experiences, to develop theory whilst avoiding claims of biological reductionism (Goodley and Lawthom, 2005, and therefore by implication invoking an individual interpretation of disability (Thomas, 2007), a key concern within the disability studies literature.

This cluster has highlighted that for some disabled academics in this study, the emphasis in their narratives relates to the extent to which they seek an organizational response to accommodate or include how they manage, and aim to work, with impairment effects. This may involve adapting work remits, or adopting alternative work practices. For others the emphasis is upon making career choices which attempt to negate the impact of impairment effects, to have less of an observable, or visible, effect or relationship with their career. As such, impairment effects can be understood as a career boundary (Gunz et al. 2007), in relation to which disabled academics make career decisions.

This cluster begins to affirm the insight that disabled people strategize and negotiate organizing contexts (Foster, 2007; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Roulstone et al, 2003). How disabled academics strategize and negotiate organizing contexts as their careers unfold is a thread that runs throughout the following clusters of experiences, which further strengthen this insight as a contribution to the academic and boundaryless career literatures.

Whilst for disabled academics impairment effects may be part of their everyday experience, which they seek to include or have accommodated within organizing processes and practices, when disabled academics are not “supported in their project of being bodily present, acknowledged, accommodated and enabled...in organizational life” (Cockburn, 1991:212), and excluded from organizing processes this contributes to disabled academics’ requirements being made visible as different to normative expectations, again a theme running through the remaining clusters.

Interpreting the experiences of disabled academics with the disability studies lens within this cluster, begins to draw attention to the construction of disability as difference and the different career boundaries disabled academics experience, to those currently theorized within the boundaryless and academic career literatures, and begins to surface the potential of the disability studies lens in engaging theoretically with the potential of disability as a productive category for analysis in organization studies.

5.4 Cluster 2 – declaration of disability

Participants raised issues around the value, necessity and implications of declaring themselves as disabled¹⁰ to their organizations. Declaration is used in this thesis to refer not only to the formal employer requests for declaration of disability, usually at the point of applying for a post, or when a person is known to have acquired an impairment during employment, but also to incorporate the many ways and times in which disabled academics have highlighted they are required to make a decision about informing others about their impairment effects as they encountered normative assumptions through organizing processes and practices which did not accommodate, and at times refuted, impairment effects related ways of organizing.

The issues raised focus around particular stages of participants' employment relationship with the organization, or of times of change for participants and/or organizations; becoming impaired, at entry to an organization, during changes to work remits or the organization, and when involved in disability related support/activities. The meaning and outcome of declaration within these contexts, and during these events varied for participants.

Sophia sees disclosure as a means of self preservation, as declaring herself disabled and requesting a particular work remit as crucial to ensure she can maintain her health and well-being

Because if I try to work from nine to five I'll break within about a fortnight, literally, I just become so ill.

Sophia identifies, as Harlan and Robert (1998) note, normative work remits can exacerbate impairment effects.

Sophia, whilst appreciating declaration can be stressful, views non declaration as a lost opportunity, for the disabled person and for the organization.

¹⁰ Within this process the term disability is most often employed by organizations, when referring to a request to disclose impairments as part of employers' equality monitoring processes, and is framed within a legislative discourse on disability, thus using the term disability within an individual interpretation conceptualization.

For the disabled person, non-declaration may limit access to funding for adjustments or assistive technology and potentially facing critical comments from colleagues who don't understand the disabled person's requirements, and ultimately not to have acknowledgement or understanding when experiencing difficulties due to impairment effects

I think it's a shame, because you should be in an environment where you can (declare), because lack of disclosure is a stress in itself, big stress. And it means that you're not getting access to things like Access To Work and just being able to say 'I'm really having a bad day I need to go home' and not having people going 'oh she has a lot of bad days doesn't she'.

Sophia sees the impact of not having knowingly worked with disabled staff who have declared as significant for the organization, and which then consequently may result in negative perceptions of disabled people

When there's not another member of staff in the department who has disclosed they are disabled and the department has not had to have a think about how it works with people, professionals who are disabled, within its work setting then there is definitely naivety, definitely a level of ignorance that can sometimes shift over into sheer prejudice.

This resonates with NIACE (2008) and Lucas (2008), who suggest declaration can inform organizational contexts and lead to more inclusive organizing practices.

Sophia and Gregory see declaration as a means of establishing the suitability of potential employers. For Sophia, using the opportunity to declare her requirements on application for posts, and discussing this at interview is a means of filtering out potentially damaging work contexts. Sophia identifies those organizations she would not consider working for by how they respond to her declaration and subsequent discussion at interview of the impairment effects related work remit she requires

So the disclosure is self protecting, very much for me. It just gets everything up front and you so can tell when people don't get it.

Gregory similarly notes he uses declaration as a way of filtering out potentially poor employers

I suppose the way I do it now is I'm quite happy to say 'well if it's a problem to you I don't want to work there'...if my potential boss had a problem because I'm disabled then, no matter how annoying it is, I'd be better off not going there, than accepting it. So, that's how I approach it now.

However, this was not always the case. Earlier in his career Gregory was suspicious over how declaration of disability might lead to discriminatory decisions by others, took care to tell the truth, yet also give himself the opportunity of at least getting to interview stage when applying for work

In the earlier days I always used to think no (and not declare), because I always thought there was a lot of discrimination against me, but I wanted to be honest so on my CV I always have 'disabled by (cause of impairment) year recuperating' in my gap. Now people never read your CV so they miss it, because it is way down now, so I always put that in... (When invited to interview) I sort of phone up and say I'm [disabled], and then let them worry about it then

Gregory remains indecisive (after nine years), over whether or not to declare, highlighting the contextuality (Brunner, 2007) and some ambivalence over such decisions and the potential risks (Schlesinger, 2000), remarking

I often wonder about that (disclosure), if you ever get an answer to that one should you declare it or not, but I'd imagine some issues it would be bad to declare, but then if you don't and you turn up, you're going to piss them off.

Holly is similarly suspicious and ambiguous over the intentions of organizations encouraging disclosure, especially at the point of entering an organization and the potential consequences of this

Interestingly I applied to [current university] some years before [year] and they sent out an EO monitoring form with the application, I was always a bit suspicious about these forms, and that asked if you had a disability, and I actually put yes, right, and I didn't get interviewed. And a year later I applied and the same form came out and I put no, and I did get interviewed. But I don't know if it made any difference or not.

Gregory's and Holly's approaches suggest a lack of trust, and concern over how declaration will be responded to and the consequential impact upon their careers, connecting with Brunner (2007) and Deem et al.'s (2005) studies of staff in UK HE which identify perceptions of organizing contexts as prompting hesitancy, concern and lack of trust in disabled employees' decisions on declaration.

Abigail, returning to work after becoming disabled, informed both her head of school, and head of section, and a number of close colleagues, some of whom immediately supported her through renegotiating their work remits to accommodate Abigail's requirements.

Abigail has had a number of periods when impairment effects have meant she was unable to work, but rather than declare this, Abigail has chosen to catch up with work at other times, and as such chooses not to further declare these impairment effects to the university

I've only actually had one period of sickness, off, which has necessitated a sick note from the doctor, otherwise it's always just been a day. A day here a day there, which I don't tend to declare as sick because I tend to catch up, whether it's during holidays or weekends or whatever ...the only time I declared was when I had to have three weeks off sick

Abigail's approach to using personal time to catch up on working time lost due to impairment effects resonates with French's (2001) recognition that work can leak out into non-work time for people with impairments, here due to Abigail seeking to "catch-up" in her own time.

The approach Abigail initially took is one I initially adopted when my impairment effects significantly changed during 2008. To manage chronic and at times acute pain and memory difficulties, I began working long hours seven days a week to deliver my contracted work hours, losing time with my family and time to recuperate from the regular daily effects of working with new impairment effects. It was only when I began to fall behind in writing up and I attempted to increase my output further that I became aware of the extent to which my response to impairment effects, in seeking to catch-up working long hours, was exacerbating my impairment effects. My and Abigail's experiences reflect the suggestion that impairment effects may mean work leaks into personal time (French, 2001) and which may require compensatory strategies which are detrimental to wellbeing (Harlan and Robert, 1998), a particular concern when academic work is already acknowledged to be a greedy institution which spills out into personal time (Acker, 1983; Currie et al., 2000; Kinman and Jones, 2004).

As **Abigail's** impairment is invisible, her subsequent nondisclosure of impairment effects means colleagues have become accustomed to seeing her at work and not being aware of the ongoing nature of her impairment effects, have commented upon how well she looks, leaving Abigail feeling conflicted

They tend to say 'oh don't you look well', when you're actually feeling absolutely lousy and it's very hard to have the heart to turn around and say to people 'well no actually I feel lousy but thank you for saying I look well'.

Holly similarly noted this concern, and the impact of being perceived to be well when this is the result of carefully balancing impairment effects and adjustments to work remits, yet others perceive you to be well enough and expect a return to normatively assumed work remits. Invisible impairments can lead to frustration and difficult decisions over ongoing declaration to remind others (Fitzgerald, 2000). Abigail now feels that what she requires is to re-declare her impairment and seek a formal response from her school to secure an enduring manageable work remit, an issue explored in more detail in Cluster 3.

Gina has always chosen to declare her impairment when applying for a post in a new organization. However, Gina in common with Gregory and Holly, now questions the outcome of declaration and a subsequent need to request alternative working arrangements which may have a detrimental impact upon career prospects

I certainly think I'd like to know how many people who have a disability that they have declared, that they are receiving support for, get promoted in higher education because I'd be, I'd be surprised if it's helpful to their promotion chances at any rate.

After experiencing difficulties at her second university Gina is ambivalent, recognizing that even with these doubts, declaration is a necessity for her, however suggesting that if she had the choice she might decline to share such information about herself

I'd be really disabled by the pain, it would do me damage if I didn't (declare), so I don't have a choice, but if I did have a choice, and this (negative experiences in Gina's current university) had been earlier in my career then I might never have declared it again. But I think it (disclosure) ought to be seen as a positive thing, and I would, in the past I would always have declared it, and I will still but I'll have more trepidation than I ever would have before.

Gina mentions using declaration as a means of improving the working arrangements for others, and as such indicates her belief that organizing contexts can benefit through declaration, and subsequently develop inclusive practices, an issue returned to in Cluster 4.

Catherine always declares herself disabled when applying for posts, and yet found there was no response or further action on the part of the organizations

I would have declared my disability for all of my employed situations and, because there is no doubt that I have a disability... I always felt with all employers ... that this was a paper exercise for them to be aware of what ethnic minority and disability mix they had in their workforce rather than any other reason. But there's certainly never been any follow up.

Brunner (2007) suggests declaration is meaningful and worthwhile when followed by a managed process to agree, implement and manage disabled staff's access requirements. However, a lack of follow up post declaration is an issue that runs through many participants' narratives, and is returned to in Cluster 3.

Holly identified a concern amongst disabled staff over potential responses to declaration, or even about attending disability related support activities within her institution, through which they may be made visible

A lot of the people who've come here are worried that they are being identified as having a disability, and there's hardly any of us here, so where are all the other people who aren't even coming here, because they are too frightened to even turn up, you know, and I said, you know 'we've got to actually create an environment in which people will actually want to come out let alone anything else'.

This suggests the decision to declare, including declaration by default in attending support activities, is influenced by considerations of the response disabled academics anticipate, supporting a wide range of studies which suggest that concern over possible negative responses mediates disabled people's decision to declare (Baron et al., 1996; Bishop and Allen, 2001; Fitzgerald, 2000; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Thornton, 1998).

5.4.1 Cluster 2 discussion – declaration

Whilst declaration is recognized as *potentially* leading to organizations developing a more inclusive organizing context (Lucas, 2008; NIACE, 2008), the experiences highlighted in this cluster suggests it is mediated through disabled academics' concern (Baron et al., 1996; Bishop and Allen, 2001; Fitzgerald, 2000; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Thornton, 1998) and lack of trust (Brunner, 2007; Deem et al., 2005), over the implications of declaration for potentially negative responses from others within their organizing contexts, and the wider impact upon limiting disabled academics' careers (Brunner, 2007; Lucas, 2007).

The invisibility of impairment effects, particularly within non-inclusive contexts, is shown to further complicate the impact of declaration, as even if disabled academics inform their organization or manager of their impairment effects, over time declaration has been forgotten when impairment effects are not observable, or visible, and require disabled academics to re-declare. This may be particularly the case when the initial declaration is made informally. This has implications for disabled academics, who may feel frustrated (Fitzgerald, 2000) by a subsequent lack of recognition of their requirements.

The recognition that declaration may not lead to an appropriate, inclusive, organizational response (Brunner, 2007), for example to discuss, agree and implement working arrangements or a suitable work remit, is a concern that resonates throughout participants' narratives. This can be understood to have potentially negative implications, taking into account the discussion in Cluster 1 which identified a desire to include impairment effects in expectations of organizing disabled academics' work, and can be understood to frustrate the desire to demonstrate the legitimacy (Deegan, 2000) of organizing and working with impairment effects.

Organizations' formal processes for collating disability declaration did not appear to guarantee that the disabled academics in this study would not need to re-declare and re-state their requirements, even where these have not changed. When formal processes do not lead to a consideration of how disabled academics may need to work which accommodates impairment effects, this at times forced a decision over whether to speak up or not about access requirements potentially leading to increased visibility, and colleagues' perceptions of disabled academics' difference (Bowker and Tuffin, 2002), as they progress their careers within organizing contexts.

An alternative may be to withhold information about impairment effects and experience a further loss of personal time (French, 2001) beyond that already consumed by academia as a greedy institution (Acker, 1983; Currie et al., 2000; Kinman and Jones, 2004). Additionally the impact may be to exacerbate impairment effects (Harlan and Robert, 1998) or lose the opportunity for a potentially inclusive response through improved understanding of disabled academics' organizing requirements (Lucas, 2008; NIACE, 2008).

Interpreting the experiences of disabled academics with the disability studies lens within this cluster has further enabled the *different* career boundaries disabled academics experience to be surfaced. This cluster contributes declaration as a different career boundary (Gunz et al., 2007) to the academic and boundaryless career literatures, and begins to identify some of the implications of non/declaration of disability for academic career mobility (Baruch and Hall, 2004b), inter and intra organizationally, which are further developed in Cluster 3.

Additionally, this cluster has drawn further attention to disability as a difference which may be surfaced through declaration of disability. Whilst non declaration is an option, particularly where impairment effects are invisible and enable disabled academics to make a choice over declaration or potentially be perceived as non-disabled, the experiences highlighted in this cluster suggest a potentially negative outcome is the marginalization of their access requirements (Bowker and Tuffin, 2002).

Declaration as a career boundary reflects the literature which informed the disability studies lens, in drawing attention to the complexity and contextual nature of decisions on declaration for disabled academics which resonate with the experiences of disabled people and disabled students reviewed in Chapter Two.

5.5 Cluster 3 – experiences of negotiating organizing contexts and managerial responses

Having made the decision to declare (or not) to their organizations, either formally or informally, when entering the organization as a new appointment or after becoming impaired, and in relation to the organizing processes they encountered, disabled academics highlight the range of ways in which organizational responses can be problematic.

Within this cluster, participants' experiences overall describe attempts to negotiate organizations in the absence of what they perceived as an appropriate managerial and or organizational response, rather than being able to rely upon organizational policies and practices or participate in systems already established as part of how we organize within HE. The importance of the role and approach adopted by line management and the inclusion of impairment effects in organizing processes are emphasized.

After an impairment related absence of a year, **Holly** described how she faced resistance from her head of school when she attempted to return to work. Enlisting her GP Holly attempted to open negotiations for a phased return

I started to improve so my GP said to [current institution] 'can she come back on a rehab scheme?'...they said 'no', they said 'no, she's either well or she's ill, can't have somebody who's possibly ill on campus, she might be a health and safety risk'.

Holly continued to seek a return to work and was passed onto occupational health, and Holly sought the assistance of human resources staff. However, Holly highlights the extent to which her head of school was perceived as unchallengeable by occupational health or human resources staff

When I would appeal to occupational health, appeal to HR, I just got total “well what do you expect us to do. We can’t do anything this man’s, you know, sort of running his own kingdom”, and this poor little occupational health nurse would ring him up, I’d be sitting in her office and saying “can we discuss a return to work programme for [Holly]?” and I could hear him screaming down the phone “who the fuck do you think you are, you little person, go kill yourself” he would say, “I’m not going to discuss...anything with you, how dare you tell me how to manage my staff”.

From Holly’s account we can see some of the ways in which organizational actors draw upon an individual interpretation of disability (Oliver, 1990) and the ways in which the individual interpretation also extends to a misunderstanding of impairment effects such as the fatigue Holly experienced as being an illness. An alternative understanding could be that fatigue is an outcome of working in ways which are not inclusive, and which in turn can lead to fatigue for someone working with impairment effects. This is extended further by an additional conflation of impairment with perceptions of health and safety related risks as a justification for refusing to accept disabled people in the workplace (Hurstfield et al., 2003).

Returning to work after his accident, an interim head of department handled **Samuel’s** transition back into his department poorly, leaving him feeling unsupported and vulnerable. This lack of management exacerbated the impact of colleagues’ negative responses upon Samuel’s career, leading to Samuel being excluded from research activities, some of which he had originally developed, explored further in Cluster 5. As a newly disabled person, Samuel felt he had little control over what was happening. This poor transition back into work left Samuel disillusioned, and when an opportunity arose to move departments, rather than challenge the circumstances within his current situation, he took it

One of the things that was very negative was the person who had been my boss when I was injured had been, he was just a ‘stand in’... became what we called ‘the visiting professor’, took very little, well played very little part in the University’s life.... it upset me to the point when I was given an offer by another department to join them... I joined them. I did feel that that was an aspect where they had not supported me and what was happening adequately.

Holly's and Samuel's experiences support the assertion that gatekeepers may thwart career aspirations (Becher and Trowler, 2001; King, 2001). For Holly, she perceives her manager as a gatekeeper through his active refusal to accept her back at work, whereas for Samuel it is the lack of action on the part of his manager that caused difficulties. Whereas King (2001) suggests moderating or adjusting one's aspirations in the face of gatekeepers may be necessary, Holly actively sought to resist the influence of her head of school as gatekeeper in order to enable her career aspirations by seeking both internal and external support (Roulstone et al., 2003). The ways in which Holly attempted to further circumvent her head of school and other organizational actors as gatekeepers to her career progression, by seeking organizational change, are explored further in Cluster 4 below.

Samuel's response can similarly be understood to have been one of resistance, however different to Holly's, by his change of departments. Holly can be understood to be challenging and seeking transformation (Duberley et al., 2006) of organizing processes and practices, and Samuel, at this stage in his career, choosing to move on and leave organizing practices unchallenged. Later in his career, within the same institution, Samuel became significantly involved in disability equality related activities (explored further in Cluster 4 below). This signals the extent to which disabled academics' approaches to negotiating their organizations are affected by factors such as stage of career, and that within one account of career experiences, an individual may present examples where they have sought to both transform and conform to organizational constraints over time presenting a synthesis of both reactive and proactive responses to the organizations encountered in their career accounts (Duberley et al., 2006).

Sophia highlights how the extent of her and her employer's lack of knowledge, understanding or implementation of the legislative framework on disability led to her losing her post doc post rather than adjustments or re-deployment being considered

This was 1998 nobody even mentioned it (Disability Discrimination Act 1995) to me I probably knew of it vaguely but there was no assessment made of adaptations to my work, there was no suggestion that I could continue to work with that lab... theoretically had I known about it Access to Work (ATW) could have provided me with a person who could have done the work under my supervision. It would have been expensive for them, but theoretically that is what should have happened, but nothing. So I ended up temping.

Over the subsequent ten years this experience resonated for Sophia, in relationships with subsequent employers, as she sought to re-establish her academic career.

This involved a period of discouraging administrative temping experiences, before Sophia secured another academic post. Sophia continued to experience a lack of a managed approach in the new academic post which led to an erratic way of working, costing her financially and created difficulties for Sophia re-establishing her academic career

We were still going along on the basis that because my disability is so variable is that I was well except for when I wasn't rather than I was disabled and we had to put in plan a constant system of management for it. So it was very erratic and I was having to pay for taxis and things on very bad days out of my own pockets...which was very expensive to put it mildly. So I wouldn't go in as much because I couldn't afford to literally.

Sophia recognized that it took time before she became aware of external support available, and of her employer's responsibilities. In addition to this were the difficulties of anticipating fully the ways in which a work remit may need to be adjusted, as this was often contextually specific, and not always anticipated by either her employer or herself, making negotiations problematic in a context where impairment effects were not acknowledged within working practices or processes

One of the things you realise is you're not given a book on how to be disabled. You're not given a handbook, you're not told when it is you have to put your foot down and when it is you let things ride. And what things you can allow to be a little bit iffy, and what things you absolutely say "no it has to be that way or it doesn't work".

Similarly to Sophia, even though I had extensive personal experience of working with impairment effects, and in supporting others, including disabled academics and their academic-managers to consider how they might reconfigure work remits, I was shocked when during 2008 my own impairment effects changed, and I no longer felt I knew how to respond. I had anticipated that my prior experience would enable me to negotiate on my own behalf to arrange my impairment effects related organizing requirements. However, I did not find this happened at all, and I required line-managers and colleagues assistance to work these out.

Within all participants' narratives there were further numerous accounts of difficulties in negotiating organizations and getting on in one's work due to a failure to manage the negotiation, implementation and review of adjustments to work remits through organizing processes and practices. This supports the assertion that the negotiation, agreement and implementation of adjustments to work remits is a source of tension for disabled people (Foster, 2007; Harlan and Robert, 1998).

Where processes are not managed, disabled academics may feel unsupported, and that managers have abdicated responsibility for developing inclusive organizing processes and practices which may indicate an orientation to an individualized understanding of disability (Foster, 2007). Disabled academics may then be perceived to be lacking the ability to meet the requirements of the work role rather than the context in which the work role has developed is non-inclusive of the different requirements of academics with impairments.

A lack of formal management of disability is similarly reflected in **Abigail's** narrative. Abigail's return to work after a period of absence related to impairment effects was managed informally with colleagues and friends within her school, reflecting colleagues' concern to offer support. However after seven years, having negotiated with a few colleagues who continued to informally adjust work remits with Abigail at times when impairment effects were significant, Abigail began to question the appropriateness of this approach. As the context within which this informality had worked began to change, and over time as people became familiar with Abigail being in the school and working during periods when impairment effects were not visible, people forgot (Lipson, 2000).

Now I think people take it for granted that I'm there and I work and things seem to be fine.

Abigail's view of equality and organizational responsibilities subsequently changed and staff changes and changes within her school structure began to underline the impermanence and consequences of agreements reached informally as expectations that Abigail could return to a normative work remit returned. Whereas Abigail recognized she needed her entire work remit reviewed and a more formal organizational response which acknowledged and accommodated an inclusive and sustainable working pattern rather than an *ad hoc* response when impairment effects flared

I think that has become more of a concern as time goes on, it becomes something long term, and when there have been serious incidents like having to take three weeks off.... I think other incidents like that kind of makes you re-think that there has to be some kind of more managed response to this really.

Abigail suggests that having already established herself at an international level within her field means she did not feel at risk in asking for a managed response from her school, although Abigail recognized the impact a reduced volume of output had upon her career progression

I mean, what I tend to think is I probably could have gone up the career ladder rather quicker if I had been able to produce to full capacity, and that's what could be frustrating I think. But it's satisfactory for them so there's no, I don't perceive myself as being in any danger in that respect.

Abigail recognizes here, that whilst she has been able to negotiate her work context on an ongoing basis, and gain agreement for adjustments to her work remit, long term, she remains assessed against a normative standard of work production for career progression. Abigail's insight gives off an indication of the intertwining of impairment effects and ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) in recognizing that impairment effects change the way in which she works and the volume of her output, yet she judges herself and knows she will be judged against a normative standard of "full capacity".

When Holly reflected upon this chapter she highlighted the issue of informality in access arrangements as problematic, highlighting a subsequent transparency, and there being "nothing to refer to when things go wrong" as a difficulty with informal arrangements, similar to the insight Sophia had made in her reflexive interview.

Jonathan experienced a lack of consideration of the physical aspects of his teaching role, which combined with poor management of access facilities created difficulties in one university. Large group teaching required Jonathan to move large amounts of teaching materials, something he could not physically do

There was no provision for that at all, nobody offered, nobody considered it as an issue or, you know you could argue that's a good thing because they'd normalized it, you know he's just like everybody else we'll treat him just the same, but it was an issue and an unmet need really....it was difficult, physically difficult and there was no, you know there was no procedure for dealing with that.

As Jonathan suggests here, there can be different interpretations of such situations. The lack of response could be understood as the normalization of working with a disabled colleague, and as such a positive response. However, French (1998) suggests that being seen to cope and hence being treated like everyone else is too simplistic a reading.

An alternative reading, as Jonathan indicates, highlights this organizational response as making limited provision for disabled people, poor management of facilities and lack of consideration of disabled people's access requirements within organizational policies and processes (leading to this unresponsiveness). To be treated like everybody else (with an assumption of a particular level of physicality), and the concomitant assumption that Jonathan was expected to work in the same way as other academics without impairment renders invisible and undermines the potential social codification (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris, 1996; Thomas, 1999) of the legitimacy (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) of working with impairment effects and shores up normative assumptions, understood here as ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hughes, 2007).

Jonathan was able to circumvent the consequences of this expectation, partially, by negotiating informally with colleagues and students to assist in carrying, loading and unloading materials from his car. However, this was not always successful, due to the limited provision and poor management of accessible parking on campus

I think there was one marked disability space, but it was not always free. Sometimes it was a delivery van, sometimes there was another disabled person, sometimes there was somebody who shouldn't have parked there.

Through these extracts from his narrative account Jonathan identifies the additional work he does to negotiate the HE work context, taking time and energy to organize his own access arrangements, which fall outside of the normative expectations of what would be organized within usual university practices and processes, connecting with Campbell et al. (2008), and Woodcock et al. (2007) who suggest that disabled academics experience additional impairment effects related workloads when negotiating their work contexts. In his second university, Jonathan had similar experiences regarding the installation and movement of office equipment, and the provision of suitable seating, describing the experience as a battle, finding he needed to argue for suitable provision, and the extent to which these experiences are typical of his academic employment as a whole

A lot of the things around we've had to battle for, like, you know, who moves the desks, who moves the books, who you know installs the computer so a lot of that time I've had to ask for help. Help hasn't been offered, nobody [took responsibility], I said 'look I need an adapted chair', not an adapted chair but a more comfortable chair to support my back and they stumped up that.... but in a way I'm personally quite friendly with the guy who's in charge so you know he did the decent thing, but I had to argue for it... I've always had to say wherever I've been, actually this is not what I should have been doing.

At other times, Jonathan felt uncomfortable in asserting himself and asking for organizational responses to his impairment related requirements. Jonathan also suggested that it is a common experience for disabled people who seek to be successful in their career to push themselves beyond what they should do in order to succeed

And I think I felt sometimes, not a cad but a bit of a, I don't think I've always been able to assert my physical needs as it were. Or rather, it's not that I've not been able to but it's, I've had to, I have had to assert them. Then I found that slightly difficult because I think a lot of disabled people who do, you know do well and get on do so almost at the cost of acknowledging where their limitations are or whatever, you know, being superhuman.

Jonathan's approach reflects the disability studies literature on overachievement and overcompensation in the face of non-inclusive contexts (Barnes, 1996; French, 1998; 2001; Harlan and Robert, 1998) and helps us to understand Jonathan's ambivalence in asserting his requirements and suggesting he overcompensates at the cost of wellbeing.

Holly, like Abigail, identifies the way in which the work remit formula she agreed with line managers faded over time, leading to expectations she would return to the standard school work remit for someone in her role

The second year the head of section, without consulting me, decided I was well now, so just gave me this huge timetable...and it started to become this problem all the time.

Problems with Holly's agreed work remit being forgotten was similarly repeated by a subsequent head of section. These experiences highlight for Holly the extent to which the responsibility for developing and maintaining an understanding of her requirements as a disabled academic fall to her, suggesting an individual interpretation understanding, rather than being a recognized and consistent aspect of management responsibilities or included in organizing processes and practices

To me everything was individual, you had to go and negotiate your timetable, you negotiated your hours of work, you negotiated everything, nobody's taking responsibility in any way for it. And although some people can be sympathetic, they then forget.

Holly's experience of finding her requirements fall outside of the usual organizing processes and practices resonates with Jonathan's experiences and the suggestion that a failure to consider impairment effects, including how manager-academics manage their staff renders invisible and undermines the potential social codification (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris, 1996; Thomas, 1999) of working with impairment effects as legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999). Within Holly's account the role of the manager-academic is highlighted as important to maintaining the implementation of agreed work remit changes (Cunningham and James, 2001; Cunningham et al., 2004). As King (2001) argues, line managers can operate as gatekeepers, constructing or maintaining career boundaries. Here Holly was able to negotiate to re-instate her alternate work remit, however the role of manager-academics as potential gatekeepers (Becher and Trowler, 2001; King, 2001) and *their* subjective occupational or organizationally related expectations determining whether or not they support disabled academics in their career pursuits resonates across the participants' narratives and highlights the importance of their support in constructing and maintaining inclusive working arrangements.

Like Abigail, Holly also identifies the extent to which her impairment effects led to a reduced research output, however for Holly the emphasis was upon the way in which this was perceived as an individual failing rather than supporting her critique of the university promotions policy for failing to include arrangement for disabled academics, resulting in a school senior manager (head of section) refusing to support her promotions application. As Holly noted

Their perspective on me was totally different to my perspective on myself and my own career. I went to my head of section twice, he did my appraisal...and I said 'the university should have a disability policy on promotions' and he said 'but they don't...he said 'but you haven't produced anything...therefore you have to go like everybody else, but you've had two years off sick and it will look dreadful'...he said 'no, but we can't take that into account, so it will look bad, so we're not going to put you in for it, we won't support you for promotion'.

Holly framed her understanding of this disjunction in views by drawing upon the potential application of DDA 1995 legislative duties around the concept of 'reasonable adjustments', and took the opportunity of the recently introduced DDA 2005 to request that a policy be developed on disability and promotions.

The response Holly received was not supportive and indicated a different understanding of how the concept of a reasonable adjustment might relate to considerations of suitability for promotion

People sort of turned around and said 'well what do you mean, what sort of policy?' and I said 'well reasonable adjustments they apply to promotions procedures', no-one could get their head around this at all... people from HR there who were going 'what do you mean we've got to make reasonable, how do I do that?' and they were really quite incredulous, they just didn't know what to do.... They were outraged, they were outraged that I was saying that this should apply to promotions, and I kind of brought the DDA in and showed them the relevant passage and I went through it and I looked at the DRC advice and I showed them that. No – they would not accept this.

As Woodhams and Corby (2003) suggest, managers' interpretations of the meaning of legislative duties may not always favour disabled employees. Here the managers within Holly's school and the university Human Resources Department made a limited interpretation of the scope of the legislation.

When Holly did eventually apply for promotion (during which time her publication rate had caught up to the normative standard number of publications required) she found the procedure itself differentiated disabled applicants and proceeded to challenge the way in which disabled candidates were asked to apply, arguing the procedure placed disabled candidates at a disadvantage, highlighting the individualized approach adopted by her organization

They did advertise that if you had a disability you should put in the promotions application, this is where they really fucked it up again, you should put your special circumstances, they called them special circumstances because they didn't know how to refer to them

Holly is highlighting here, and rejecting, the association of impairment effects and access requirements as 'special circumstances', a critique reflected in the disability studies literature (Corker, 1998) where the language of 'special' is argued to reflect an individual interpretation of disability. In addition, rejecting including details of impairment within the main body of a promotions application which should be used to sell ones abilities.

Holly had the support of her new head of school after a further rejection from Human Resources who intervened adding his support for Holly's approach to the procedure.

However as Holly notes, whilst her application was accepted on the third submission the issue of the procedure being exclusionary was not accepted by a human resources manager

I saw her in a corridor and she said 'oh congratulations on your promotion, but you know you did do the form wrong', and I thought 'you were supposed to learn from it, they were supposed to learn that this is the right way to do it not the wrong way to do it'.

Holly's experience highlights the extent to which the disability related legislative framework has to date failed to penetrate organizational policies or practices in meaningful ways. Where disabled academics may be agentic and succeed in changing an outcome for themselves, other organizational members do not necessarily amend their perspective and may return to normative assumptions of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hughes, 2007) non-disability which precludes the inclusion of impairment effects from work practices and processes. Robert and Harlan (2006) suggest this can be interpreted as reflecting a perspective informed by a view of adjustments for disabled people being 'special treatment', and the potentially career limiting role of organizational gatekeepers (Becher and Trowler, 2001; King, 2001).

Gina reflected upon the approach she adopted as a manager and the more inclusive ways in which she was managed by her first employers, and the first university, after she became disabled

At least the first three organizations I worked for basically operated a social model of disability and looked at removing barriers and the second higher education institution I worked at clearly operates a medical model so it's my problem.

Gina highlighted the way in which the manager in her first university included a consideration of impairment effects within organizing processes and practices as her line manager anticipated and negotiated an inclusive approach to working to a tight deadline

I can remember the Dean of School saying 'this bid, you know, is horrendous and it's going to be easier if we do it ourselves, how is that going to affect you, do you need some extra word processing support, would it be easier if you...do you want to lie on the floor at home scribble something down and we'll get it word processed here?'

As Barratt and Barratt (2007) highlight, workload allocation is often left to the discretion of managers who can negotiate and tweak allocations during the year.

Gina's experiences were of inclusivity in her first university, and resonate with the support Holly received from her new head of school. Rather than not being considered for involvement in the bid for funding, the Dean sought to develop a way of working that could include Gina.

Gina's experiences in her first university, as a manager and a managed member of an academic team differed significantly to her experiences of being managed in her second university, where she suggests the individual interpretation of disability prevailed

I had a colleague who was partially sighted and he had to use an aid to view things and it took him longer to read students' work, and I was as it happened his line manager, and I would automatically have thought of that because that is just how the organization worked, you had to think of it and there is always quid pro quos so if he has to get a bit longer for that someone else gets a bit more...you can always manage it within a team. I don't believe it is impossible but in the second higher education institution that would be just my problem.

The extent in which an individual approach to disability pervaded Gina's experiences in her second university is evidenced in the responses Gina received having requested different workstation equipment and changes to office procedures, where she felt isolated and disempowered. Gina was excluded from the decision making process

They weren't even willing to talk to me about it and it was all being done for me.

Gina's knowledge and experience of her requirements was not taken into account and communication with the administrator who organized equipment had to pass through her line manager

When I first talked about the chair... there was no willingness to listen, to listen at all. In fact most of the communications between the people who organize the equipment and me had to go through my line manager they would not talk to me direct no one asked me.

For Gina, the importance of a low key and speedy response to the provision of equipment, is that it reduces her visibility

Give me the equipment and my working practices won't look very different to anyone else's apart from certain blips and odd things.

However Gina experienced a twelve week delay in the provision of some critical equipment, and found it necessary to contact her line manager repeatedly

I should think you're looking in double/treble figures at the emails I had to send to get anything to happen and so you then become your own worst enemy you know.

For Gina, the responses she received in her second university were such that they reinforced perceptions of negated difference. This extended to a negative response to alterations to filing systems to enable Gina

It isn't good for anybody to carry big box files about ..., it was seen as 'well then you can have three or four ring binders instead if you like, but that is really difficult for everybody else, but everything else has to stay in these box files and you'll just have to ask for somebody to lift them down' and those kind of things make you feel very different.

Gina noted the consequences of the difficulties she experienced were such that she would consider not nominating herself for a project within her institution for fear of the difficulties she would experience and the potential for a fuss to be made over simple issues such as moving the equipment she required

I think you would be very discouraged from trying to move, you'd be very discouraged from trying to put yourself forward for a project in case your equipment had to be moved to another part of the organization and they made a huge fuss about that I mean it would just make you very very cautious and it would be very limiting you know, because there would be no acceptance of it I think.

Disabled academics' requirements being perceived as different and responded to negatively can be understood as limiting intra-organizational moves and access to career enhancing opportunities, contradicting a common view in the academic career literature of academics as autonomously empowered (Baruch and Hall, 2004b; Blaxter et al., 1998a; Richardson and Zikic, 2007).

The responses Gina received to her requests and attempts to change organizing processes to accommodate her requirements were overall met with resistance, and she summarized the impact of this upon how she perceived her position

Being in the organization now to summarize means that you are forced into an adversarial position which is very uncomfortable.

Gina suggests there was also a dissonance at her second university between the extent to which an appreciation of the ways in which organizing processes and practices should include the requirements of disabled students, yet simultaneously exclude those of disabled staff

It was suggested to me at one point that that sort of thing (a focus on inclusion and diversity) applied to students as if somehow staff were exempt...that didn't apply to staff, which seems to me a bizarre attitude

I think in general staff are aware that they've got to try and remove barriers for students, who thinks they have to remove barriers for staff....for staff, it's down to, the experience they have is really literally down to their own line manager, whatever contact they have with HR or whatever is part of that organization deems to be responsible, if it has any part. I think the view is that you're sufficiently old, experienced to fight your own battles I suppose, whereas we would make the arrangements for students.

What I have observed is a general feeling that we've got to do something to keep the students, to make it possible for them, but it would be up to the member of staff to do something for themselves as it were.

I invited Gina to talk about examples of when she had experienced this disjunction, but she declined as she felt doing so would make her identifiable within the thesis.

At the end of the interview, as I turned off the digital recorder, Gina commented that the negative experiences she had had at this second university were such that they were "career ending". Gina considered the move to this particular institution at that particular stage of her career had been disastrous, and shortly after the interview, Gina left the HE sector.

The issue of a disjunction between organizational responses to disabled students and disabled staff was also identified by **Holly**. Holly identified the anticipatory and organizing activities to develop inclusive practices for disabled students, and the overwhelmingly student orientated representation on the disability equality scheme working group and the proactive and managed approach to student adjustments compared to her own experiences of co-ordinating and managing the whole process for herself

The whole thing about reasonable adjustments became an interesting thing to me because it seemed to me that nobody actually took responsibility for them so you were often sort of, you co-ordinated with HR, you co-ordinated with occupational health, you co-ordinated with your line managers, yet nobody saw this legal obligation as something that needed to be written down, formalized, checked, kept up to date with, and yet with students they tend to do this.

Gregory also identified how his university provides access, services and support for disabled students, however this does not extend to disabled staff

They are very good here our student support and disability people, but I don't think they are so good for staff.

This is something Gregory perceives as an expression of a lack in the level of organizational concern for disabled staff. Receiving acknowledgement and an expression of concern is something Gregory suggests he would appreciate in relation to the types of issues that cause him some difficulties as a disabled person

The things that make my life more difficult...obviously they can't do much about, but they could if they (demonstrated) the same concern for disabled staff as they do for disabled students.

Gregory highlights that it is not only what is provided that is meaningful for disabled people, but also the manner in which disabled people are, or are not, considered as part of the organization.

Farish et al. (1995) noted the extent to which equality policies in HE focused primarily upon students. This resonates with Deem et al.'s (2005:44) more recent study which suggests this pattern of focusing upon students is the approach which dominates some universities' approaches, if not within their discursive practices and is a dissonance recognized by staff (Deem et al., 2005).

Catherine's narrative overall suggests she has chosen an approach to her career choices which achieved a negation of impairment effects, yet when she begins to discuss her interactions with managers and perceptions of the organizations she has worked for, we begin to see that whilst Catherine may prefer an approach which reflected normative expectations and which made her impairment effects invisible in her career choices, she suggests some ambivalence as there are potentially negative outcomes as a consequence of adopting this approach

I have found that when I mention that my manager has taken that on board and seems to take it seriously so, I think if I make my needs known then people will at least be prepared to listen to those. That is my perception. But there certainly is no particular attention to any of my perhaps special needs before I would have expressed them, and that's, I'm probably quite alright with that that's how I've worked all my life.

When consideration of requirements is by request, rather than an integral aspect of organizing, managers may fail to consider or manage the impairment related implications of changes to organizing contexts, practices or processes and assume Catherine can fit in with organizing processes which assume non-impairment. Catherine experienced such a response related to a proposed office relocation

It was only recently with a discussion about office moves and things like that that I said “look I don’t want to be over the other side of [campus at current university] because then I’ve got to move the car every time I’m coming to and fro”. And “oh oh right okay, so yes it is a problem for you and we can avoid that problem” and that was agreed, but unless I actually sort of point out that I can’t do things, there is an assumption that I can.

Initiating conversations with managers is a recurrent topic in Catherine’s narrative. When raising concerns over workload within her current organization, as other colleagues had done, Catherine felt singled out, and treated differently

The funny thing was that when I brought that up, even though different people have voiced their concern with workload, it was sort of presented back to me as if I was the one who was making a problem out of this and I was actually asked “well why is it that you, that you’re making such a fuss?” Not quite in those words but “why are you making a noise and why is it a problem for you and it doesn’t seem to be for other people?” and that was actually not a fairer representation of what was happening on the ground. And I just said “well, look it does affect my health and I’m not happy for that to happen”.

When Catherine discussed the details of the health implications with her manager, and that she had decided she would not continue to dash about to meet work remit demands as this was contributing to health difficulties, she received a more accepting response

When I mentioned that to my manager he sort of did sit up and say “right okay, that’s alright”.

Catherine believes her manager had taken the issue seriously, but expressed doubt over his ability to act within the constraints of school expectations over productivity and resources. Catherine’s view resonates with the literature outlining the context of HE management and the difficulties manager-academics experience with restricted resources, high student numbers, conflicting demands between teaching and research outputs and increasing expectations of accountability (Barratt and Barratt, 2007; Burgoyne et al., 2009; Deem, 1998, 2004, 2005; Trowler, 2001) and the subsequent complexity manager-academics face in balancing collegial and managerialist expectations (Deem, 2004, 2005; Knight and Trowler, 2001; Prichard and Willmott, 1997).

Catherine goes on to suggest that were there to be a more proactive approach adopted within her organization, that she might feel more comfortable in surfacing her requirements

I don't know if whether sometimes if there was more of a, of a recognition that I might have different needs that I would be more, I would come forward with my needs more easily, probably that is the case.

Catherine's experiences resonate with those of other disabled academics in this study, who found they were left to initiate, and often manage their access requirements, connecting with the interpretation developing within this chapter that disabled academics do additional work, and carry much responsibility for their access rather than organizing processes and practices including their requirements (Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Campbell et al. 2008; Woodcock et al., 2007). This can be interpreted as an outcome of normative standards of work with these processes being applied to disabled academics, even when they have indicated they required alternative arrangements, and an assumption that the differences required to work with impairment effects are an individual problem.

Catherine is ambiguous over how her requirements are understood in relation to normative practices, talking about her "needs", "different needs" and "perhaps special needs" when talking about her manager's lack of pro-activity in recognizing and organizing in ways which include such requirements

But, there certainly is no, particular attention to any of my perhaps special needs before I would have expressed them.

Catherine later reflected upon her whole career and her current organizational context noting a general lack of proactively managing disability related support within organizing contexts, and whilst Catherine may benefit from alternative provisions, she was reluctant to make a request, anticipating problems with senior management

I haven't tried making any approaches in terms of something to perch on or something like that, but I think they would be surprised and I would anticipate that there might be problems to start with. Not with my immediate manager but with managers above.

Catherine had requested a particular workstation arrangement in her current organization, and faced an arduous process of assessment and quibbles relating to funding and misperceptions of fairness for other staff, were Catherine to receive the equipment she required

There was this discussion about ‘well you know it has to be equitable and I can’t give you something that I can’t give another member of staff’ and I thought ‘oh, right. Interesting’.

To acquire a chair, Catherine had to “go through a whole lot of rigmarole and paper(work), and you name it, in order to get it” engaging in a lengthy discussion with management, which can be seen to have affected her willingness to come forward again.

Whilst Catherine may be perceived to have preferred a low key approach which made impairment effects related ways of organizing invisible, this may have been mitigated if practices and processes were to include disabled people’s requirements as legitimate (Deegan, 2000), and Catherine may have adopted a different approach. The adoption of an approach which negates the visibility of impairment effects can be seen to be, at least partially, a strategic one (Roulstone et al., 2003) in Catherine’s organizational context, to prevent organizing processes from making Catherine more visible as requiring different provision, and as a form of self protection.

5.5.1 Cluster 3 discussion – negotiating the organization

The disability studies lens developed in Chapter Two highlights the importance of line managers in constructing inclusive work practices and contexts with disabled people (Cunningham et al, 2004; Foster, 2007; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008), and how disabled people negotiate work contexts (Roulstone et al, 2003). These two issues resonate with the experiences of disabled academics drawn together and interpreted within this cluster, where they are shown to have an impact ranging from whether disabled academics feel supported during transitions between or within a particular organization, to support, or lack of support, for career advancement. The experiences in this cluster further surface the implications of how academic work is organized, adding the importance of manager-academics, in ways which enable or constrain disabled academics’ careers which enables a complex picture of the organizing processes which shape disabled academics’ careers to emerge.

As Cluster 2 noted, declaration of disability did not guarantee disabled academics' requirements would be met, and this cluster further contributes to this insight in identifying how disabled academics negotiated organizing boundaries as they navigated non-inclusive organizational contexts (Foster, 2007; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Roulstone et al., 2003).

The disabled academics in this study experienced difficulties in transition between employers and the transition when returning to work after acquiring an impairment. This transition back into work organizations is recognized to be problematic for disabled people during the initial period of return (Burchardt, 2003). Disabled academics' accounts highlight experiences of difficulties arising through the non-management of their access requirements (Foster, 2007), examples of resistance (Harlan and Robert, 1998) to requests for arrangements which would allow a return to work, and managers drawing upon an individual interpretation of disability (Oliver, 1990), or conflating impairment with health and safety issues (Hurstfield et al., 2003).

Once participants had returned to work they experienced similar difficulties in negotiating impairment effects related ways of organizing, for example negotiation, implementation and review of adjustments to work remits or organizing practices. The participants in this study at times do interpret the responses they received, both actions and non-actions, as problematic, particularly when they felt their requirements to work in more inclusive ways were resisted, at times citing an individualizing response which locates the problem with their impairment effects related requirements rather than organizing processes and practices.

The available literature on the role of line managers recognizes they are central to the achievement of inclusive work practices (Cunningham et al., 2004; Foster, 2007; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Roulstone et al., 2003; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008). However there are studies which suggest senior staff act as gatekeepers (Becher and Trowler, 2001; King, 2001), and which interpret the refusal or non response to requests for adjustments to work practices or work remits, and a lack of management to maintain adjustments once agreed as attempts to restrict changes to organizing processes and practices (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Foster, 2007). The responses disabled academics in this study received, highlighted in this cluster, may suggest an interpretation of disabled academics' managers as organizational gatekeepers (Becher and Trowler, 2001; King, 2001), in ways which at times thwart disabled academics' career aspirations.

Understanding the failure to implement legislative responsibilities, such as making reasonable adjustments, or amending organizational practices, as reflecting a suggestion that managers, when faced with a choice, may interpret a weak understanding of legislative (Woodhams and Corby, 2003), or organizational policy (Cunningham et al., 2004) responsibilities which require adjustments or support to be offered. This is particularly relevant when considering that whilst some of the narrative accounts include experiences which occurred before the implementation of the DDA 1995, most occur after the legislation was enacted.

Woodhams and Corby (2003) suggest managers think contextually, taking into account their assessment of both an employee's impairment effects and the productivity required to carry out the work in question when making a decision on the application of the legislation. In doing so, managers may diminish the liberal framework underpinning the legislation through their decision making, as they draw more heavily upon the individual interpretation and medical orientation of the legislation (Corker, 1999b; Foster, 2007; Woodhams and Corby, 2003).

Taking into account the policy contexts surmised as "doing more with less" (Deem et al., 2007:183) outlined in Chapter Three Sections 3.5.2.1–3.5.2.4 manager-academics may feel constrained in ways which restrict their engagements in negotiating approaches to working inclusively or involving disabled academics in decision making over alterations to work remits for example. Or as Deem (2003) suggests, manager-academics may perceive their approach as collegiate and inclusive, yet it is not perceived as such by the disabled academics in this study.

It is therefore arguably necessary to equivocally (Weick, 1979) interpret the actions or inactions of those in relation with (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) disabled academics as their careers unfold. Whilst there are a number of examples of manager-academics or colleagues being perceived by participants as gatekeepers (Becher and Trowler, 2001; King, 2001) in ways which contribute to decree of boundaries disabled academics experience, there are *some* examples of times when disabled academics working with their line managers, or as managers themselves working with colleagues, have found ways of maintaining collegiality, working inclusively and, sharing responsibilities and constructing inclusive work processes and practices within an academic team to achieve objectives.

Taking into account the literature outlined in Chapter Three which highlights the complex context within which HE managers and manager-academics organize, the lack of research into manager-academics' experiences generally (Bryman and Lilley, 2009; de Boer and Goedegebuure, 2009) and a lack of research exploring manager-academics' experiences of managing disabled academics within such complex contexts, suggests an equivocal (Weick, 1979) interpretation is appropriate, and highlights this as an area which warrants further research.

In terms of how participants responded to difficulties in negotiating for inclusive work remits, through organizing processes and practices, whereas King (2001) suggests moderating or adjusting aspirations in the face of resistance, the disabled academics in this study adopted different strategies (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Roulstone et al., 2003) such as, resisting the omission of impairment effects as a consideration in working practices and organizing processes, and seeking to transform organizing contexts to become more inclusive of their requirements (Duberley et al., 2006) or by leaving their department or the organization.

Additionally, resisting by attempting to draw upon internal and external sources of support (Roulstone et al., 2003), overachieving or overcompensating (Barnes, 1996; French, 1998; 2001) or seeking invisibility (Bowker and Tuffin, 2002) to negate a sense of heightened visibility. Negation as a strategy can be interpreted as a strategy in response to non-inclusive contexts (Harlan and Robert, 1998).

Informal agreements or arrangements for changes to work remits are highlighted here as problematic. In some circumstances they were impermanent, changes to staffing or other arrangements and, over time, agreements were not maintained, requiring renegotiation which was understood to be problematic, within contexts where colleagues and peers returned to normative expectations of work practices. Informal agreements are argued to fail to impact upon the long term development of inclusive practices, preventing organizations from developing inclusive practices (Foster, 2007; Lucas, 2008; NIACE, 2008), which in turn may have reduced the need for adjustments, as organizing processes and working practices began to meet some of the requirements of disabled academics.

There are also further examples of the additional work disabled academics 'do', to negotiate organizing contexts, such as making one's own access arrangements (Campbell et al., 2008; Woodcock et al., 2007).

This contributes to the argument outlined in Cluster 1, for the need to begin to codify (Barnes and Mercer, 2005) the additional work disabled academics do, to understand the impact of normative organizing processes and practices upon disabled academics' careers and work towards considering arguing for the legitimization (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) and social codification (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris, 1996; Thomas, 1999) of working with impairment effects and impairment effects as an organizing principle.

As workload allocation is often left to the discretion of heads of departments/schools who can informally negotiate and tweak allocations during the year (Barratt and Barratt, 2007), gaining support for adjustments to work remits and recognition of impairment effects as a legitimate organizing principle for academic work is closely tied to relations with managers to prevent work leaking into other areas of life (French, 2001) and which may otherwise require compensatory strategies which are detrimental to wellbeing (Harlan and Robert, 1998). This further supports the importance of relationships with managers (Cunningham et al., 2004; Foster, 2007; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008) in facilitating inclusive work contexts for disabled academics which is recognized as a contributing factor to whether disabled academics are enabled or constrained in their careers (French, 2001; Roulstone et al., 2003; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008), as outlined above and returned to in Cluster 5.

This consideration of work remit contributes to the recognition of the potentially differential impact of an academic work remit for disabled academics. Whilst academic work remit is recognized to have a differential impact upon different social groups (Acker, 1983; Hey, 2001), this cluster begins to identify how academic work, as a greedy institution (Acker, 1983; Currie et al., 2000; Kinman and Jones, 2004) alongside the intensification of academic work (Currie et al., 2000; Deem et al., 2007; Hull, 2006; Parry, 2001; Kinman and Jones, 2004; Ozbilgin and Bell, 2008), impacts upon disabled academics in ways which are not recognized as a career boundary or within the academic career literature.

Barratt and Barratt (2007) suggest it is the fullest inclusion of work activities in workload models that are more likely to achieve equity. Here it is suggested that the inclusion of impairment effects as an organizing principle may contribute to more inclusive working practices for disabled academics. This is not necessarily to suggest that *individual* disabled academics receive work remit relief, rather to suggest that the ways in which academic work is organized could better meet the requirements of disabled academics were impairment effects accepted as an organizing principle, reflecting Deem et al.'s (2005) call for 'equitable workloads' which factor in adjustments to work remit allocations.

Whilst it is suggested that academic processes strive for equity, such as workload allocations, particularly where workload models are adopted (Barratt and Barratt, 2007), and peer review processes (Baruch and Hall, 2004b), the experiences of participants in this cluster suggest organizing practices and processes assume normative standards which exclude the impairment effects organizing requirements of disabled academics. Therefore whilst processes may appear to be equitable through equal application, the interpretation made here draws attention to assumptions of non-disability, or ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997, 1999; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hughes, 2007) within what constitutes the normative standards being applied, and suggests it is these assumptions which exclude ways of working as an academic with impairment effects and contributes to impairment effects related requirements being marginalized (Chouinard, 1997, 1999).

As the disabled academics in this study reflected upon their career experiences, they highlighted a contextual issue, a disjunction between expectations of the management of provision for disabled students and the lack of provision or concern for disabled staff, an issue touched upon by Deem et al.'s (2005) respondents, where disabled employees were aware that senior managers were more knowledgeable about disabled students than disabled staff. There has been an emphasis placed upon improving access for disabled students in HE through funded sector wide initiatives (HEFCE, 1999; 2005). Whilst encouraged, and projects funded by HEFCE (1999) to improve provision for disabled students, universities have responded positively and engaged more readily in meeting their needs. Deem (2001:10) suggests HE may, like other public sector organizations, operate with more than one "discourse or language" shaped by the "context and audience", and it may be the lack of similar incentives to develop provision for disabled staff has meant disabled staff access has received less attention, whilst provision for disabled students was progressed.

The disability studies lens developed in Chapter Two has enabled an interpretation of disabled academics' experiences of management and organizational responses which highlights a range of ways in which organizing processes and practices do not meet the access requirements of disabled academics. When alternative requirements are highlighted by disabled academics, they are often refused: reinforcing the disabled academics' visibility as different, as 'Other' (de Beauvoir, 1972), a difference which is understood through an individualized understanding of disability and a difference to the expectations of how organizing HE academic work and academic careers should be organized.

Through this cluster of experiences, the disability studies lens, as a way of seeing and thinking (Deetz, 1992) about disability, further contributes to an appreciation of how organizing processes construct career boundaries (Gunz et al., 2007) for disabled academics which are not acknowledged within the boundaryless and academic career literatures. As disabled academics negotiate organizing contexts, the centrality of manager-academics and other organizational actors in contributing to the construction of career boundaries experienced by disabled academics are highlighted. Additionally, the complexity of the organizing context of HE for disabled academics and manager-academics is emphasized within this cluster of experiences. However, the interpretation offered here is one of equivocality, as the interpretations of disabled academics highlight the ways in which the “actions, interactions and relationships” (Chia, 1995:585) or non-relationships with managers can be interpreted as gate-keeping (Becher and Trowler, 2001; King, 2001) responses. However, as the literature outlined in Chapter Three highlights, the organizing context for manager-academics is already highly complex with competing demands and pressures, and lacks research into manager-academics’ experiences of managing disabled academics which limits the interpretations which can be made in this chapter.

5.6 Cluster 4 – disabled academics’ involvement in equalities related activities

Disabled academics highlight a number of ways they have been involved in disability related activities within and outside of their schools and institutions, extending for some into their research agendas. This involvement has at times been voluntary and a rewarding experience. However there have also been times when the expectations of others for disabled academics to be involved with disability equality issues has been perceived as problematic, and resisted.

Samuel has become involved in organizational development activities aimed at improving disability access with external agencies and within his own university, something Samuel values. Within his own university Samuel has become involved in a number of committees to develop inclusive practices, although Samuel recognizes the need to take care in how he is involved, to reduce his visibility as an activist, and fears being removed for being too involved and too critical of his university’s practices

I have to be extremely careful because I think there are a lot of people who would like to throw me off the committee because I’m viewed as trouble you see. You see what I mean, if you push too hard you have to be extremely careful of your role because if you push too hard you will be thrown off.

The extent to which Samuel takes an active role in his university, to drive forward the changes needed, is influenced by his perception of the lack of effort on the part of the university's central administration, and the extent to which he feels his experience of waiting for change to be initiated by his university has not served him well. Samuel tells of a time when a Registrar organized a disability committee meeting in an inaccessible room, noting their response was not to re-arrange it

It was left, oh yes, he had no intention of moving it 'oh we can't find another room, oh we can't find another room'

Samuel suggests that in response to this he takes action

But they know I'm coming (to meetings etc) they can't realise that *they* have to actually...well in fact that is partially why I send emails saying 'in an accessible room' and it's partially also why I've been driving what [Disability Adviser] is doing currently which is making up the database to improve access because the current room booking system doesn't discriminate between accessible and inaccessible rooms.

Sophia's focus has been upon her research agenda, and Sophia concedes that she cannot fight the organization too as it would be too detrimental to her health

You find out one way or another and you definitely find out as somebody with disabilities that you become more adamant about a) your needs and b) what you won't put up with...the only fight I can take on is by doing the job I can't do any more. If I go on to an institution where I was having to fight my corner as well I'd leave, because it's too much to take on, it's too much to ask of my system.

At the time of the first interview, Sophia felt that if she needed to fight the university on disability issues, she would leave. However, since Sophia's initial interview she has changed university, and found she has been drawn into taking a more proactive approach during the first few months in this new university, becoming involved in commenting upon the design of her new school building, and joining the disabled staff network, something she has not done to this extent before, as she has found the new university has less well developed inclusive practices than her previous university. For Sophia, this, like declaration of impairment, is again an effort in self preservation, Sophia feels she has to be involved as otherwise she fears there will be too significant an impact upon her new role, as the current organizing context is so unsuitable

It is constant, overwhelming levels of things that haven't been done or thought about coherently and there's no holistic taking in of disability issues.

Sophia believes the university is unlikely to consider her requirements in the planning of her new school building and that they need to go beyond minimum specifications as the building will be used by other disabled people. This shift in Sophia's perspective reflects a contextual and emergent understanding of experiences. Sophia's reflexive interview feedback on this chapter affirmed her approach of assessing employers by her ability to influence through involvement; rejecting those universities that she gauged as being less open to change, and accepting posts in those, even with poor access, where Sophia sees the potential for change. So whilst Sophia notes her approach to her new university setting is "much more self preservation than it was at [previous organization] because it's just so much worse (here)", her response to it is to challenge the status quo through involvement in service. Samuel and Sophia's approach can be perceived, as Hanson (2007) suggests, as subversive; the intent to bring about unsponsored change by engaging in activities which fall under the remit of service to the university, an integral aspect of many academic careers (Blaxter et al., 1998a). However, as Samuel notes above, this is not without risk.

For **Jonathan**, being asked to become involved in teaching activities related to disability was problematic, he felt a moral obligation to do so, yet resentment at being asked

I feel I have to do it really, and I don't have to do it. If I was bloody minded like a lot of people are, I think I'd say no, it's not my job I'm not going to do it, but there's almost a sort of moral pressure to do this session because I know much more about it than [colleague]... I do feel a little bit, abused, I suppose in that sense you know, here I have to do this teaching and write [colleague's] essay questions and, prepare some materials for these folks and I'm thinking well, you know, it's not my job, it really isn't my job I'm only doing this because I'm disabled.

Jonathan comes back to the issue of being asked to teach disability related sessions for others a number of times in his narrative, and whilst he recognizes that being seen to offer to support colleagues with teaching may assist in developing collegial relationships (Silverman, 2004) this is outweighed in terms of his frustration at being asked, and the tension this creates in meeting his own workload and responsibilities

It's like this teaching... I'll do it it's fine ... but it's not what I'm paid for, it's not going to help me in a jot, it won't help this [Jonathan's work area] a jot it'll help a group of [number of] students and frankly they're not my concern, it sounds terrible but, you know they're not my responsibility. So I do feel a bit resentful that I'm spending my time... I'm doing it to show willing.

This is exacerbated when Jonathan is invited to teach disability issues outside of his own school, drawing Jonathan's efforts away from the work he will be judged upon, and draws our attention to the conflict a disabled academic can feel in response to the expectation that disabled people should be responsible for (Deem et al., 2005; Reynolds et al., 2001), or at least involved in, this area of activity, when it is not part of their role or academic responsibilities. **Sophia** reflected upon this point in her reflexive review of this chapter, and commented

So we are not only expected to achieve "normal" standards, amounts, ways of working but we are also expected to achieve extra in terms of disability services to the University whether by teaching or advising on estates, HR policies etc which isn't acknowledged, remunerated, nor are we really often trained for.

Whilst the inclusion of disabled academics in universities' response to the DDA 2005 duties is encouraged (NIACE, 2008) there is a lack of a recognition of this as additional work (Campbell et al., 2008; Woodcock et al., 2007) done by disabled academics in contributing to their organizations, or the difficulties this may cause for individual disabled academics.

Gina's experiences also reflect this expectation, and similar to Jonathan, Gina feels some tensions between contributing to disability awareness and her own needs. As a disabled staff member Gina believes she, and other disabled people, have a responsibility and a role to play in sharing their experiences and knowledge to assist in training staff on disability issues

When ...you're asked then to go and (train others in disability) I'm very happy to do that and I think we all have a common responsibility to do that.

However, at times she perceives this to be in conflict with her own needs, especially when she encounters staff who Gina perceives to require training in disability issues whilst she is attempting to negotiate with them for her own access requirements

I'm having to educate people, but you are absolutely the wrong person to be doing that when you are the person seeking the support because it's hard to be... you become emotionally attached...because of course it is affecting you... I'm very happy to do that [talk to managers about disability access]... but it's another thing to be doing it when you're battling about your own situation.

However, Gina's willingness to contribute to disability training and awareness is counterbalanced by a sense of tension and not having a real choice between choosing to make what Gina sees as a positive contribution, taking a training role and resisting poor organizational practices

In an organization that operates like that [second university] you've either got to become, really, a hider of your disability, a conscious hider of it I mean not just carrying on... or you've got to become a disability campaigner, it presents you with no other choice. And I mean I feel very strongly about the way people are treated, but I might not have wanted to be a disability campaigner just at that moment in time. Perhaps there was something else going on elsewhere or perhaps that was not what I wanted to do, but you're pushed by the organization into taking that role or backing away...and you feel like, never mind my day job I'll just do disability training.

Abigail became involved with her union's equalities activities, and found this helpful in understanding her own circumstances, and changing her approach from informal arrangements to requesting a formal approach from her school (explored further in Cluster 3) to achieve a better work/life balance, whilst maintaining a sense of control over her career progression

So I made the decision to step out of almost everything this year including posts that I had outside of the University.

Holly identifies how she was able to use involvement in disability related organizational development activities to raise difficult issues she was experiencing to effect changes for her own career, and in the process bring about positive changes for other disabled staff. The decision to become involved in organizational development activities was initiated by a frustration at the failure of the university to change practices

So I've gone from this person sitting in a little office kind of tearing her hair out, to this person who has decided 'sod this, I'm just going to take over'.

Within Holly's school, as a result of her involvement, she has been charged with developing policies to address the issues she has raised. Whilst Holly is willing to do this, there are times when she rejects the expectations of others that disabled staff's responsibilities extend beyond discussing issues for the university to consider into taking on an advisory role which Holly sees as an organizational responsibility

I said 'hang on a minute, are you saying we are kind of a free HR resource? Instead of making somebody in HR responsible for disability issues, we're responsible for advising the university?...I'm not happy to do a role that I think the university should be paying somebody to do'.

For Holly, involvement can offer a way of receiving recognition and being comfortable as a disabled person with an invisible impairment

I'm more embarrassed about talking about...[my impairment effects] with them (colleagues), than I am on a university committee, because they know (committee members) I'm there because I've got a disability, so in a way I've already come out.

Holly's comments suggest her school environment is not one where it is possible to talk openly about being disabled, yet that there are places and people within her organization where she is comfortable talking about disability related experiences. Holly's experiences highlight that whilst an organization may attempt to create inclusive and supportive spaces for disabled academics, this does not necessarily cascade through, or inform processes in, other sections of the organization (Deem et al., 2005) and the balance of responsibilities between disabled academics and the university is not addressed.

For **Gregory**, involvement in disability related organizational activities varies, he is sometimes asked to become involved, but at other times he is excluded, and the involvement he has had has left him with a sense of disillusionment. Gregory recalled a time when he was asked to gather feedback from disabled staff within his school relating to planned office changes. Gregory encouraged people to come forward and share personal information about their impairment effects related requirements, yet no action was taken

I cannot see anything that happened or changed with it ... nothing changed they just carried on as the [advisory] group said, so I get a bit cynical with that, so yes we are invited sometimes, but I think it's because we are disabled.

Here Gregory, like Holly, challenges the organizational assumption that a disabled person is the right person to carry out such activities, the 'designated authority' (Deem et al., 2005) on disability. In fact, as Gregory notes, his vocal and visible criticism of his organization may well lead to his exclusion from some disability related organizational development consultations and activities

I assume they don't invite me...I probably threaten them, I think I'm a threat to a lot of them.

Holly, Sophia and **Catherine** talked about the link between their experiences as disabled people and their research agendas. Holly and Sophia's research agendas changed directions towards disability after they became disabled, having already begun their careers in academia with other research interests.

Holly finds researching disability a cathartic experience, in knowing her research is making a difference for other disabled people, for example when a colleague read one of her disability related articles and when members of the public had made an effort to contact her after reading her disability related research

She said she (colleague) took it home and she cried, because she said she sat and read it and she just cried, because at last she had heard something that made sense to her about how she felt...I had people keep ringing me up out of the blue and saying "I'm one of your case studies, you don't know me".

It is also a way of ameliorating her own experiences as a disabled academic, particularly in relation to her head of school who had made Holly's return to work a difficult and at times humiliating experience

He had to sit there and sign it because he wanted the money, so I got the [funding]...at least it was one...my little victory psychologically, of getting back at him, because then I produced a lot of research that was basically saying "you're a shit" it was quite funny. And then it goes into the RAE and that becomes even more ironic.

Reflecting upon her research, Holly explains

It was hugely important to me because I wanted to do it for, for the people I was interviewing, not just for, well, it was partly for me as well, because I thought well, I had such a shit time and just to be able to say this is partly my story, but my story is loads of other people's stories...

In addition, presenting disability related research at mainstream conferences and publishing in mainstream journals is important to Holly, to develop a better informed understanding of disability within her discipline and to get disability onto the agenda, although Holly notes a lack of interest in disability within her field

if you go to a conference, you see, on [Holly's research area]...and you've got a disability article, no-body comes, no-body wants to come and listen to a disability article. Well they are going to have to start to get interested, because I'm going to put this stuff in these mainstream journals and make them have to read it.

For **Catherine**, the desire to pursue an academic career came later in her career and led to Catherine completing a PhD to assist her move into academia, where disability remained central to Catherine's research agenda. For Catherine, being a disabled researcher meant she was able to bring an "insider perspective" to her research, being able to use her own experiences to build rapport with her research participants, which lead to some intimate issues being revealed, and receiving positive feedback from participants on her analysis.

Catherine's methodological choice to be reflexive also revealed the extent to which her research was shaped by her previous experiences and how these facilitated her topic and her focus upon user perspectives

When I came to reflexivity and how I arrived at my frameworks and my influence on the whole thing, it turned out that yes, clearly I was shaped and my research direction was shaped by my previous experiences (as a disabled person).

Sophia recognizes that continuing to pursue her career is an active choice, as the extent of her impairment effects means she could chose not to work. However, for Sophia, researching disability is a passion, and a way in which she can make a contribution, it is what drives her desire to use her research agenda in ways that challenge orthodox (individual) approaches to disability and draws attention to issues not already considered in the field, but which she understands as important to disabled people

It's that get out of bed drive, it has to be worth it to you. And as a disabled academic I think you do recognize the debt you owe to the disability rights people and to the other people in your community...to cause the trouble that you can. I regard doing research as a very elegant way of causing trouble...you're raising issues with people that are uncomfortable to answer or trying to change a system.

As a disabled researcher Sophia sees that her own experiences as a disabled person not only give her the drive, they also inform her research

I think the fact that I do (have impairments) informs my work, it means that I have got a fair degree of insight of what it is to live with a body that does things that you didn't ask it to do. What it is to live with a body that does things that aren't socially acceptable, that are tiring, that then have an effect on mood and sleep and all of those sort of associated things.

Like Holly, Sophia and Catherine, as I progressed in developing this thesis, I became more aware that my focus upon disability and ableism and the voice of disabled academics, and my passion for researching this issues within organization studies was closely connected to my own experiences.

5.6.1 Cluster 4 discussion – involvement in equalities related activities

Involvement is recognized to be an important issue in the disability studies literature, where a concern to ensure disabled people are involved in decision making processes on issues which may affect them, for example policy development (Morris, 2008), and research design (Barnes, 2003). However, whilst the option to be involved is highlighted in this cluster as valued, the expectation of involvement is also highlighted as problematic.

Drawing upon the disability studies lens, this cluster surfaces the meaning of involvement in disabled academics' experiences as ambivalent, involvement in organizational activities adds further complexity and equivocality (Weick, 1979) to the interpretation of disabled academics' career experiences.

The disabled academics in this study have different reasons for their involvement in a range of disability equality related activities, and draw attention to the range of ways such involvement has impacted upon their careers. Some participants felt there was an expectation that they should be involved, an expectation they wanted to resist. The expectation that disabled academics should be involved in equality related activity could be interpreted as suggesting that there may be an expectation for disabled academics to be a designated authority for their perceived social group (Deem et al., 2005). Boden et al. (2005) emphasize disabled academics should resist becoming overly called upon as a representative for a minority group, which resonates with Reynolds et al.'s (2001) suggestion that this can lead to 'ghettoisation', disability as difference consequently becoming over-emphasized, which could contribute to marginalization within their organizing context (Reynolds et al., 2001). This expectation of involvement is in sharp contrast to Silverman's (2004) suggestion that there may be a lower expectation for minority academics to evince collegial service to their institution, and his argument that this lower expectation is an advantage which should be capitalized upon.

Additionally, involvement beyond that required within one's work remit can be interpreted as additional work (Campbell et al. 2008; Woodcock et al., 2007), which may not necessarily be recognized as such or remunerated. There have been calls (for example NIACE, 2008) in response to the DDA 2005 promoting the further involvement of disabled staff in equality related organizational activities, which have not included a commensurate recognition or consideration of the potential impact upon disabled academics' careers where such involvement is not valued or rewarded. Whilst it is argued impairment effects should be incorporated into work remit considerations (Deem et al., 2005), the additional work connected with involvement in disability equality activities is not similarly recognized in either the disability studies literature reviewed in Chapter Two or the academic career literature reviewed in Chapter Three concerned with work remits, for example Barratt and Barratt (2007).

Whereas Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest academics may exhibit low sociability and solidarity, that is have a higher commitment to self (and career progression) rather than organizational or social concerns, some experiences outlined in this cluster suggest disabled academics, in some contexts, take a pro-active approach to engagement (Duberley et al., 2006), and seek change. Engaging in staff networks, researching disability and disseminating research in their disciplines, or organizational and discipline service (Hanson, 2007), to effect change within their institution and their discipline (Campbell et al., 2008; French, 1998; Gibson, 1996; Guelke, 2003; Tidwell, 2004; Trowler and Turner, 2002; Woodcock et al., 2007), suggests disabled academics may have a higher concern to contribute to the development of disability equality within their disciplines and organizations than is currently acknowledged within the academic career literature.

Some disabled academics who chose to become involved at times felt excluded from participation in activities related to disability equality, connecting with Deem et al.'s (2005) suggestion that staff may want to be involved, rather than seeing lack of involvement as an advantage (Silverman, 2004). The desire to limit or deny the involvement of disabled academics can be interpreted as a desire to delimit what is considered or discussed (Harlan and Robert, 1998) as legitimate organizational concerns (Deegan, 2000; Harlan and Robert, 1998), and thus limiting the potential for the development of more inclusive practices.

Through the experiences highlighted in this cluster involvement in disability equality related activities is therefore identified as a career boundary for disabled academics.

5.7 Cluster 5 – the nature and importance of relationships with colleagues and within academic networks

The experiences brought together in this cluster highlight the importance of supportive relationships with colleagues and academic networks to an academic career, for opportunities facilitated (or not) through relationships, and the extent to which disabled academics can informally and formally negotiate the organization are influenced by colleagues and line managers.

Throughout **Samuel's** narrative the importance and impact of relationships upon his organizing experiences and career opportunities, particularly during a career gap during his convalescence and at the point at which he returned to work, are stressed.

Following his accident, Samuel notes how relationships with colleagues changed; some improved, some deteriorated to the extent that they could not be recovered, some were damaged yet recovered over time.

Samuel speaks with warmth of the colleagues who visited, telephoned or wrote to him prior to his return to work. Samuel describes a strong sense of loyalty for those people because they went out of their way for him. The saliency of this early experience for Samuel is in how it continues, after many years, to shape current relationships with academic colleagues. For some colleagues Samuel is prepared to

Go out of my way for those people, they still came to see me you see, and its things like that that make a very big difference, how you've been treated.

Some relationships involved with important research projects were difficult when Samuel returned to work, and Samuel has found himself unable to forgive one person who Samuel notes “wrote me out completely” from a collaborative research project, where he had originally been the senior academic. Samuel acknowledges this was possibly to do with the individual being a “political player” within the department and Samuel being perceived by this individual as of no further use due to his impairment. Nevertheless, it had a profound effect upon Samuel, and he speaks with vehement distaste for this individual and how he responded to Samuel upon his return to work

This person and I had worked together quite closely on planning (a research project) and when I came back he wrote me out completely. And he wouldn't even hold a conversation with me, a substantive conversation which actually went somewhere and I was written out and I haven't forgiven him

A second important research project relationship also faltered when he returned, and although Samuel suggests the fieldwork aspect in this project may have been problematic, he again felt that he was “written out rather than written in” to the project. This relationship recovered when the colleague later invited Samuel to participate in new research projects where Samuel “became a major player”. Samuel describes the relationship initially as a problem but that he, Samuel, “got over it”.

Another important aspect of Samuel's relationships was the extent to which Samuel emphasized the significance of friendships in his academic network. For example, following a period of three years where Samuel was not involved in research outside of his University, an academic friend recommended Samuel for a conference in Europe.

Samuel notes the friend who had recommended him to the conference organizers might well have assumed that he couldn't attend due to his impairment

That again was somebody who I knew personally who had been asked did they know anybody and they had said 'yeh he'll do it'...that guy could have said 'well there's this good bloke but he won't be able to go' in which case I wouldn't have been able to do this.

The recommendation was important not only because of earlier experiences with colleagues, but also because Samuel's role was as a specialist from a different field to the main conference focus. The low key manner in which arrangements were made reduced Samuel's visibility as negatively different. Colleagues "mucked in" to get him about the inaccessible building, all of which was important to how Samuel felt a part of, and included, at this event. The significance of being recommended for this conference, and the experience of attending it was "a very major step" for Samuel in his career, and the positive experience spurred his return to fieldwork noting "since then I've worked in [two European countries]".

For Samuel the way in which the European conference was organized and the level of inclusion he felt demonstrated respect and the valuing of his contribution. As Roulstone et al. (2003) suggest, informal support at work is crucial for disabled people, and relationships within academic networks are similarly crucial to academic careers (Baruch and Hall, 2004b; Becher and Trowler, 2001; Blaxter et al., 1998a/c; Heward et al., 1997; Mankin, 2007; Sargent and Waters, 2004). Here, Samuel highlights the importance of a supportive relationship in enabling access to a career enhancing opportunity. Not only did Samuel subsequently return to European travel for further conferences, he also returned to European travel for data collection following the positive conference experience.

The importance of these experiences with colleagues, for Samuel, is that he understands the extent to which his career opportunities were "in the hands of someone else", and whilst relations with peers and colleagues can be understood as important for all academics' career opportunities they can be seen here to have had a considerable impact for Samuel, particularly at the time of Samuel's initial transition back to work, moving back into his research communities and returning to fieldwork.

Jonathan's narrative is characterized by strained relationships with colleagues (and line manager who had been a colleague at a previous university). A key tension Jonathan felt related to colleagues' requests to design/deliver disability related lectures, which fall outside of his work remit (as discussed in detail in Cluster 4).

In addition, Jonathan's relationship with his current line manager was further strained when he raised concerns over stress and workload, and felt they responded inappropriately, suggesting he self-manage the issue, and sharing this information with colleagues in a work related meeting

I told my boss that I was suffering stress symptoms, and wanted some support really, and you know, [line manager] was very friendly and said "oh that's terrible you know we mustn't have you doing that"...and I remember we had a...meeting for the [area of work] and [line manager] announced to everybody that you know, I couldn't, we couldn't ask me to do anymore because he's already having panic attacks and stuff. And I thought that was totally unprofessional.

Jonathan explained he did not consider his stress levels were related to an impairment but the working environment, however, I have included the example here as an exemplar for the distrust Jonathan talked about in relation to how he was managed by a number of academic managers in HE, and as an example of the individualization of difficulties at work. Jonathan expressed his view that much of the mismanagement he had experienced by academic managers is due to their lack of socialization skills, which are not encouraged or fostered within HE. As Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest, academics are orientated towards low sociability, which may partially explain such a difficulty in understanding the impact of treating a disabled person in this way.

Sophia had experiences that are more positive with one manager, and identified the importance of this managers' attitudes in protecting her from others within organizational hierarchies who may have been unsympathetic to her impairment effects related ways of working, or who would ask Sophia to carry out work that she knew she shouldn't do to maintain her health and well being

You do need some people on side because you can't be self advocating the entire time, it's too tiring, it wears you down real fast.

To know where the hierarchy is and where the people you work, actually will be working with on a day to day basis, if they get it (working flexibly to accommodate impairment effects) they will shield you from those that don't.

This attitude and willingness of potential managers and colleagues to engage with Sophia's approach to working with impairment effects is something she looks for when being interviewed, assessing interview panels' response to the style of flexible working Sophia requires.

Sophia looks for this when deciding whether or not she would consider working for an organization

You know I went to one I said “I need flexible working” and they said “oh well we work from nine to five, what do you mean by flexible working?” and I’m going not nine to five?! ”but I need you in from nine to five”, “ah right well we’re not going to work together then are we”. I didn’t quite say that in the interview, but I probably would now...at that point I knew the interview was over.

This was an approach repeated with a number of interview panels to establish their views.

Sophia has experienced further career limiting responses when attending academic conferences with medical researchers. Sophia talked at length about the ways in which, despite her best efforts including attempting to suppress any visible indication of her impairment effects, she was categorized by their medical paradigm, treated as a patient rather than a colleague, and repeatedly excluded, once known to be disabled

Going to conferences, I learnt very rapidly to hide the symptoms. There is a degree to which I can suppress...I pay for it usually every night and in terms of medically as it takes a huge amount of effort to do that...But I was discovering very quickly that if I didn’t behave normal the medics really had no concept of how to deal with somebody who had a disability who was also a professional researcher.

Sophia noting how the medical researchers would talk

About you, in front of you with their colleagues about the fact that you might have [impairment] but don’t bother to tell you what that is.

Sophia noted a different response from colleagues in other fields. Where a conference was integrated with health care specialist practitioners (in Sophia’s field) Sophia felt included and her expertise recognized

At the time I was [visible impairment effects], there was absolutely not a chance in hell I could suppress it...I didn’t even get eye contact that first day (with the medical researchers). The only person I actually talked to was a lady who had [impairment the conference was related to].... The next day was full of [health care specialist practitioners]. I didn’t stop talking.

Sophia chose to withdraw and no longer attends conferences where the main attendees are the particular field of medical researchers who marginalized and silenced her as a professional researcher among peers.

The importance of conferences for networking was highlighted in Cluster 1 by Sophia, and reiterated by Holly, when reviewing this chapter, who added

The impact that impairments have on academics' abilities to attend conferences, papers, meetings etc. has a knock on effect on networking generally. When you go for promotion you have to cite distinguished referees to give you references, how can one do this if your opportunities for meeting other academics are constrained?

The importance of networking is widely recognized in the academic career literature (Baruch and Hall, 2004b; Blaxter et al., 1998a/c; Mankin, 2007; Sargent and Waters, 2004), yet as Sophia and Holly here, and Sophia and Gregory in Cluster 1, highlight, access to such opportunities can be limited for disabled academics with subsequent negative consequences for developing relationships which may enhance academic careers.

Gregory found his relations with some academic colleagues, across different universities, were difficult when they were unable to hold a meaningful professional conversation with him. In one organization where Gregory was employed at an early stage of his academic career as a contract researcher, he had difficulties engaging with his head of school, whose only interaction was joking comments in passing

Every time he saw me he never ever spoke at me except to say "oh you need rockets on that", or "oh have you got a licence for that" and he never had any other conversation in two years, two and a half years

Gregory challenged his head of school on this

I just blew up at him "I've been here two and a half effing years and all you can f'ing do is say put rockets on it". After that he was lovely, you know "Hi [Gregory] how are..."...you're very self conscious being stuck in something like this (indicates mobility aid)... because you're different.

Gregory faced a similar situation in his next, and current university, where an academic colleague didn't speak to him in a meaningful way for six years

He didn't speak, he wouldn't, he just didn't speak to me and I suppose about six years before he actually started to talk with me...because I said to him, you know 'why is it you bloody ignore me?'. We get on very well now and I've always respected him, but he just didn't seem to want to, to engage.

Gregory noted the degree to which he felt different, visible as a disabled academic in these environments, and the extent to which he took a risk in speaking up in such a challenging way to his head of school and colleague.

By becoming more vociferous Gregory found people responded more positively. Robert and Harlan (2006:613) suggest co-workers' joking may symbolize a lack of interest in developing meaningful relationships and a level of hostility to disabled workers, with people with visible impairments particularly drawing comments from co-workers. In Robert and Harlan's (2006) study it was a minority of disabled people who challenged such behaviour in their workplace.

On a more positive note, Gregory also talked of being warmly accepted within his current organization by a new head of school who recognized Gregory's previous employment background as a strength.

Holly drew attention to the difficulties she experienced with colleagues because of the ways in which she managed her impairment effects. Key issues for Holly were the development of relationships with colleagues at her current university, colleagues involved in a national research project and in relation to her aspirations for promotion (this latter issue was addressed in detail in Cluster 3).

Holly explained how she used non-contact time to recuperate quietly in her office rather than joining school social activities such as coffee breaks. A senior colleague began to relay other colleagues' responses to how Holly managed in this way. In prioritizing her well-being Holly risked developing poor relations with her academic colleagues in the early stages of her career in her current organization

(He) said "well everyone thinks you're really anti-social" and I said "I don't care what everyone thinks quite frankly I'm on a survival course here and if the only way I can manage my work is to come in and be in my office and be quiet and just go to classes I need to go to and then come back to the office, then I'll do that"...my head of section kept saying to me "everyone thinks you're anti-social" and I said "tough, nothing I can do about it".

Needing to organize in ways which keep her well, Holly not only risked damaging relationships with colleagues due to their non-acceptance of her way of organizing, her approach to self-care resonates with the recognition within the disability studies and work literature that work arrangements, when non-inclusive, can have a negative impact upon well-being (French, 2001; Lonsdale, 1990). As self-care has historically taken place outside the public gaze (Barnes and Mercer, 2005) Holly was challenged when she attempted to bring it into the workplace. This lack of understanding extended to a colleague involved in a national funded research project assuming that Holly should be going out collecting data despite knowing the nature of her impairment effects would mean this activity would be extremely detrimental to her well being.

Abigail had a very supportive response from her colleagues when she returned to work after a period of impairment related absence. Colleagues immediately relieved her workload without expectations of recompense, and expressed sincere concern for her well being. One person in particular, Abigail's head of section, was particularly helpful in enabling Abigail to sustain her informal approach to negotiating her work remit. Abigail sees this as part of their working relationships, one of give and take, where they get along very well and have turned to each other at times of difficulties. However, Abigail suggests that as her impairment is invisible, over time, and with staff changes, colleagues have forgotten that she lives with a critical illness, and negotiated agreements on workloads and work patterns have diminished. Were Abigail's supportive head of section to leave, Abigail believes it would make negotiations over work difficult, in the context of the informal arrangement of agreements. Such a concern contributed to her later rejection of informal approaches to negotiating her work remit discussed in Cluster 2.

Gina had particularly difficult experiences with colleagues during her employment at her second university, where Gina felt colleagues were making incorrect assumptions about the real impact of her impairment effects as they were invisible, and that she was being perceived by colleagues as a 'moaner' by persisting in requesting assistive technology

Everybody sees you as the moaner and of course [impairment] are not visible...and therefore people will think you're making a lot of fuss about nothing and so on and one has comments such as "well it's not as if you're in a wheelchair" you know as if that would be the only permissible physical disability that that would be acceptable.

Gina's refusal to wait passively for assistive technology and other vital workstation equipment to arrive (after a delay of over twelve weeks for some items) was perceived negatively by colleagues who suggested Gina should silence herself

I mean I was certainly told by various people "I don't think I should make such a big thing of it" as if you have a choice you know, as if you could say well really this is an optional extra having this desk I'll not bother this time because it is clearly upsetting people. I mean one only wants the adjustments in order to be able to do the job and what people don't appreciate is that if you are struggling and in pain doing part of your job it affects other things you're doing as well, and you know I found that really difficult.

Gina highlights the extent to which relationships can become damaged when requesting inclusive work practices which colleagues find unacceptable (Lipson, 2000), yet the implication for Gina of inaccessible work arrangements is pain, connecting with Harlan and Robert's (1998) argument that negotiating around inaccessible working arrangements can exacerbate impairment effects, and work leaking out into other areas of life affecting well-being (French, 2001; Lonsdale, 1990).

Catherine talked about a number of relationships which had been influential in her entry to and progression within her healthcare related field. A qualified healthcare specialist who had worked internationally supported Catherine when she realised she would be unable to meet the health criteria for training within her home country, which Catherine sees as operating within the individual interpretation of disability

It was just so medical model and so well you know "you have a disability how can you possibly become a [specialist]?" I mean nobody quite said that but it was quite obvious.

Catherine's contact advised her to consider the UK as an alternative

She said "well why don't you go and try in Britain because your A levels are excellent and you...it's a degree course there and they have a very good reputation". So that's how I came to be even starting my career in this country.... And I've never looked back.

Having made the decision to move into academia and towards the end of her PhD, Catherine considered further training and to practice in the area of her PhD research. However, a negative experience with a training provider earlier in her career had made Catherine doubt the viability of pursuing this particular career option. However, Catherine's was encouraged by a viva examiner's support

One of my PhD examiners she said "...you have to practice [subject of PhD] after this work and your understanding, you have to do it" and I did actually.

The examiner talked of how *she* had practiced when experiencing impairment effects herself, and in doing so had developed an alternative approach to her professional practice, using a proxy, or assistant, when required, suggesting Catherine could adopt a similar approach to enable her own professional practice. Catherine has subsequently made the decision to move into this field of practice. The support and encouragement of practitioners and academics can be seen to have had a significant and positive impact upon the career moves Catherine has made.

5.7.1 Cluster 5 discussion – nature and importance of relationships

As the disability studies lens has surfaced, and which began to be outlined in Cluster 3, relationships are central to disabled academic careers. This is explored in more detail in this cluster, which identified how poor relationships with organizational and discipline colleagues can contribute to career boundaries for disabled academics.

Within the narrative accounts of disabled academics in this study there were experiences of help (Gersick et al., 2000) and inclusion by colleagues, notably Samuel, Sophia, Gina and Abigail, who highlighted particular individuals and how their informal practices or support had enabled their careers. This included during times of transition, for example, when returning to work having become impaired, offering advice and support to get careers started or assisting with developing careers in new directions.

Yet Baez (2005) and Hey (2001) note hierarchical and differential relations among faculty members continue to haunt the discourse of HE and create difficulties for academics who exist on the margins of their organizations. This was reflected in participants' narrative accounts where there were also examples of relationships which harmed (Gersick et al., 2000), where lacking colleagues' support (Lucas, 2007), as many of the experiences drawn together in this cluster suggest, disabled academics experienced isolation and limitations to their careers. This is reflected for example in everyday contact with colleagues who have difficulty interacting or holding a conversation with their disabled colleagues, as Gregory highlighted with his head of department.

Further, participants highlighted experiences of being excluded from academic networks, research activities and other career development opportunities, and lacked reciprocity and access to both formal and informal knowledge sharing opportunities, important to academic careers (Baruch and Hall, 2004b; Becher and Trowler, 2001; Blaxter et al., 1998a/c; Heward et al., 1997; Mankin, 2007; Sargent and Waters, 2004).

Additionally, and importantly for this thesis, at times colleagues or managers responded negatively to disabled academics speaking up over organizing processes which failed to meet their impairment effects related requirements an issue surfaced across all clusters.

Disabled academics can be interpreted as attempting to fragment the public/private divide (Morris, 1996; Thomas, 1999) and bring impairment effect related requirements into organizing as an attempt to codify (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris 1996, Thomas; 1999) as legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) the impairment effects related ways of organizing to enable their careers. Such attempts were sometimes ignored, rejected, or resisted. Through the process of attempting to effect these changes, relationships were at times damaged, sometimes irreconcilably. As Corker and Shakespeare (2002) suggest complex social relations are an integral aspect of how disabled people negotiate the social world, and whilst disabled academics may be proactive (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002; Duberley et al., 2006) in seeking to shape their own futures (Shah, 2006), this is balanced by their social context and relationships with others who may accept or reject their aspirations (Gunz et al., 2007).

An aspect of these experiences which appears to be important, and connects with the experiences outlined in Cluster 2, is the visibility or invisibility of impairments and impairment effects in affecting some relationships with colleagues and which had both positive and negative effects upon career opportunities.

Positive effects included reminding colleagues of disabled academics' requirements and engendering support, or the inverse response, visibility marking disabled academics as different and leading to experiences of exclusion. Invisibility is also problematic in organizing environments where disabled academics' access requirements are not an aspect of organizing processes, as over time colleagues and managers forgot about disabled colleagues' requirements and returned to normative expectations for organizing academic work. This resonates with the literature outlined in Chapter Two Sections 2.6-2.6.3 which indicate the salience of impairment visibility or invisibility in disabled people's experiences (Bowker and Tuffin, 2002; Foster and Fosh, 2006; Foster, 2007; Fitzgerald, 2000; Gold, 2003; Lipson, 2000; Stanley et al., 2007), the difficult decisions disabled people may face when impairment effects are not visible (Deegan, 2000; Fitzgerald, 2000; Strong et al., 2000), and how invisible impairment effects and non-inclusive contexts can intertwine leading to disabled academics' access requirements being forgotten by colleagues (Lipson, 2000).

Recognized to be potentially problematic for disabled academics experiences of networking opportunities are physical access (Boden et al., 2005; Campbell et al., 2008), being asked inappropriate questions (Woodcock et al., 2007) and making one's own access arrangements (Campbell et al., 2008).

However, the extent to which relationships are changed by perceptions of and responses to disabled academics, and the subsequent impact upon disabled academic careers is not addressed within the extant academic career literature. This cluster further strengthens the contribution of this thesis to the academic and boundaryless career literatures by highlighting the wider implications for disabled academics careers from difficulties in networking, developing relationships with senior academics to support promotion prospects and when experiencing a lack of recognition or validation from peers.

This cluster, and the emphasis throughout the chapter, contributes relationships and reciprocity as a career boundary for disabled academics. This is supported through the fusing of the disability studies literature, and boundaryless and academic career literatures which surface the importance of relationships with colleagues and managers for disabled people (Cunningham et al., 2004; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Roulstone et al., 2003; Swain and French, 2008) and raised by disabled academics within their research outputs (Chouinard and Crooks, 2003; French, 1998; Guelke, 2003) and facilitating academic careers through relationships and reciprocity (Baruch and Hall, 2004b; Becher and Trowler, 2001; Blaxter et al., 1998a/c; Heward et al, 1997; Mankin, 2007; Sargent and Waters, 2004), acknowledged for minority faculty in terms of gender and race/ethnicity (Gersick et al., 2000; Fries-Britt, 2000; Heward et al., 1997).

5.8 Chapter discussion

Drawing upon a disability studies theoretical lens, and fusing disability studies literature with the boundaryless and academic career literatures, this chapter has surfaced some of the career boundaries experienced by disabled academics. Impairment effects and career choices, declaration of disability and the in/visibility of impairment effects, negotiating the organization and experiences of management and organizational responses, involvement in equality related activities and the nature and importance of relationships with colleagues and within academic networks are highlighted as career boundaries in the clusters of disabled academics' career experiences outlined in the chapter.

As the disabled academics narrated their experiences, a concern for how they were being assessed against normative standards of non-disability, and a desire to be heard, raising their voice or silencing themselves as disabled academics, and at times being silenced was surfaced. Disabled academics are also noted as drawing upon social and individual discourses of disability and a legislative (DDA) discourse.

The discourses drawn upon and identified within the narrative accounts are returned to below, and explored in more depth in Chapter Six to understand the role they play in shaping disabled academics' career experiences, as they negotiated, resisted and at times were resisted through the career boundaries experienced.

This chapter, through the development and use of a disability studies lens, contributes a unique understanding of the *different* career boundaries disabled academics experience to those theorized within the boundaryless and academic career literatures. The (re)interpretations of disabled academics' career experiences in this chapter suggest that disability, ableism and impairment effects contribute to a "difference that makes a difference" (Mumby and Clair, 1997:189). That is they have consequences (Campbell, 2009b), for social relations and the social reality, of disabled academics in HE academic career contexts; differences which are not currently theorized within the boundaryless or academic career literatures.

Theorizing difference and diverse populations to develop the boundaryless career theory (Pringle and Mallon, 2003), by researching disabled academics' career experiences, and also responds to Dany et al.'s suggestion (2003) that identifying the different career boundaries, (here disabled academics' experiences), offers empirical and theoretical contributions to the extant boundaryless and academic career literatures through increasing the diversity of those studied through the boundaryless career concept.

Through the theorization of disability and impairment effects as differences making a difference in the construction of the career boundaries disabled academics experience, this research brings new insights to research on career processes (Sullivan, 1999), and suggests the disability studies lens contributes theoretically to the call for interdisciplinary development of career research (Arthur, 2008; Sullivan, 1999), as Arthur (2008:165 my emphasis) suggests, "to hear *other* voices with something to say about contemporary career phenomena".

Whilst academia is recognized to be a gendered greedy institution (Acker, 1983; Currie et al., 2000; Kinman and Jones, 2004), this research theorizing of disability and impairment effects as differences making a difference in the career experiences of disabled academics affirms Currie et al.'s (2000) suggestion that whilst academia makes similar demands on all academics, some academics may be less able to meet the demands of how academic careers are currently organized.

The (re)interpretations of disabled academics' experiences in this study suggest they experienced academia as a greedy institution (Acker, 1983; Currie et al., 2000; Kinman and Jones, 2004) and at times struggled with normative expectations of how academic work is organized and the demands this placed upon them as disabled academics, which at times conflicted with how they needed to work when seeking to incorporate impairment effects into organizing processes and practices.

The career experiences outlined in this chapter have highlighted the complexity of the HE context for disabled academics as they negotiate the career boundaries outlined above. In the process of (re)interpreting disabled academics' experiences and developing the insights into the career boundaries they experience, this chapter has also highlighted the centrality of manager-academics and academic peers in disabled academics' career experiences. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two outlined the importance of support from colleagues and managers (Cunningham and James, 2001; Cunningham et al., 2004; Foster, 2007; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Roulstone et al., 2003; Swain and French, 2008; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008), and the literature reviewed in Chapter Three outlined the centrality of relationships and reciprocity with academic peers both within organizational and academic/discipline networks to develop academic careers (Baruch and Hall, 2004b; Becher and Trowler, 2001; Blaxter et al., 1998a/c; Heward et al., 1997; Mankin, 2007; Sargent and Waters, 2004) particularly for minority faculty in terms of gender and race/ethnicity (Gersick et al., 2000; Fries-Britt, 2000; Heward et al., 1997).

This chapter has extended this insight and surfaced relationships and reciprocity as equally central to disabled academics' careers, contributing to a gap in the academic career literature which has not fused the importance of relationships with managers and colleagues for disabled people with the centrality of relationships and reciprocity of academic peers and managers for disabled academics' career experiences. It is suggested here that further consideration of disabled academics' experiences alongside academic peers and manager-academics could support the further exploration of how and why the career boundaries disabled academics experience emerge from the complex organizing context of the UK HE sector, and further enrich the insights outlined in this chapter.

For example, in terms of relationships with peers, a wide reading of the dispersed literature outside of the career studies literature highlighted some of the difficulties for disabled academics in access to and experiences of networking; being asked inappropriate questions and arranging one's own access requirements (Boden et al., 2005; Campbell et al., 2008; Woodcock et al., 2007).

This research offers wider insights into the importance of networking and relationships with peers to develop disabled academic careers, and a broader understanding of difficulties in networking, developing relationships with senior academics to support promotion prospects and the negative impact of a lack of recognition or legitimation from peers. This thesis suggests disabled academics' relationships with peers is an area which warrants further research.

Additionally, whilst the literature reviewed in Chapter Three drew attention to the complexities encountered by manager-academics following institutional responses to wider sector and policy changes, this thesis surfaces a gap in the literature addressing the further complexities for manager-academics of managing the career and impairment effects related requirements of disabled colleagues within the HE context. This gap is relevant as this research has highlighted the important role of manager-academics in facilitating and supporting disabled academics' careers.

Acknowledging the complexity of the HE context for manager-academics as outlined in Chapter Three, and bringing this together with the complexities of disabled academics' career boundaries and impairment effects related ways of organizing, suggests manager-academics may encounter hyper-complexity as they consider how best to respond to their disabled colleagues' requirements, issues which are not addressed within the extant manager-academic or academic career literatures. This research suggests that the complexities experienced by disabled academics as they negotiate their organizing contexts have implications for how manager-academics manage, and suggests this is an area which warrants further research to explore the implications of this hyper-complexity for both how manager-academics manage and the wider implications of both the hyper-complexity and manager-academics' responses within this context for disabled academics. An outcome of raising awareness and understanding of the boundaries disabled academics experience within their organizing contexts can be to engage others (Chouinard, 1999) in ways which appreciate the difference disability and impairment effects make to their career experiences, and their different organizing requirements, which could contribute to a more collaborative, collective approach to constructing inclusive work contexts, for example through generative conversations (Winter, 2009).

Figure 5.1 below draws together the disability studies lens, and the career boundaries the (re)interpretation of disabled academics' experiences have surfaced in this chapter, within the hyper-complexity of the HE organizing context.

Disability Studies Lens

Privileges a social interpretation of disability ^{11,12}	Problematizes an individual discourse of disability ^{2,3,7,9,10,11,12,13,14}	Centres disabled people as knowledge producers to inform theory development ^{3,10,11,12,13}	Critiques the organization of social world which excludes or devalues the organizing requirements of disabled people whilst centring ableism ³	Includes experiences of impairment effects ^{15,16}	A concern for the role of discourses in shaping disabled peoples experiences of the social world ^{1,4,5,6,8}
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An Organizing Context of Complexity

Binary of university types, varying missions, affecting governance arrangements, varying manager-academic recruitment practices and investment in roles^{4,7,9,12,13,20}

New managerialism / collegially informed decision making processes, centralized decentralization and work intensification^{5,9,10,11,12,14,15,16,19,22}

Academic work as a greedy institution^{1,6,16}

Increasing tensions from constrained resources, increased accountability and expectations of an enhanced contribution to society^{2,4,7,9,12,17,18,19,21,22}

Declaration of disability

Impairment effects and career choices

Experiences of managerial responses and negotiating organizing contexts

Nature and importance of relationships with colleagues and within academic networks

Involvement in equality related activities

Universities as plurivocal and polysemic, replete with a multiplicity of discourses^{3,8,21,22}

Clusters of Career Experiences

Figure 5.1 Thesis framework building upon the disability studies lens –

Drawing upon: Abberley (2002)¹, Campbell (2005², 2009b³), Corker (1998⁴, 1999a⁵, b⁶), French (2001)⁷, Goodley (2004)⁸, Hughes (2002⁹, 2007¹⁰), Oliver (1983¹¹, 1990¹², 1996¹³), Swain et al (2003)¹⁴, Thomas (1999¹⁵, 2007¹⁶). Organizing context of complexity drawing upon: Acker (1983)¹; Barratt and Barratt (2007)²; Becher and Trowler (2001)³; Burgoyne et al (2009)⁴; Chandler et al (2002)⁵; Currie et al (2000)⁶; Deem (1998⁷, 2001⁸, 2004⁹, 2005¹⁰); Deem et al (2005)¹¹; Deem et al (2007)¹²; Hall (2003)¹³; Hellawell and Hancock (2001)¹⁴; Hoggett (1991)¹⁵; Kinman and Jones (2004)¹⁶; Knight and Trowler (2001)¹⁷; Mercer (2009)¹⁸; Parry (2001)¹⁹; Silver (1990)²⁰; Trowler (2001)²¹; Winter (2009)²²

The different career boundaries identified in this chapter have begun to highlight how the disability studies lens contributes a theoretical perspective enabling a theoretical engagement (Pringle and Mallon, 2003) with disability in the study of boundaryless and academic careers. Explicating the disability studies lens through the boundaryless and academic career theories has begun to surface disability as a productive category for analysis which contributes to the epistemological project (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994) in organization studies by centring the voice of disabled academics as knowledge producers, and contributing insights which begins to make visible the differences in the social reality of disabled academics' (Hearn and Parkin, 1993 Harlan and Robert, 1998) through their career experiences.

The (re)interpretation of career boundaries detailed in this chapter and summarized above suggests disabled academics occupy a marginal "place/space" (Mumby and Clair, 1997:198) in their career contexts. Whilst disability and impairment effects related different ways of organizing can be recognized as legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998) without negation (Overboe, 1999) and responded to in an inclusive way, the experiences outlined in this chapter suggest such differences were often perceived negatively. It is suggested that this marginality is an outcome of disabled academics' impairment effects related requirements being perceived as negated differences to normative expectations across a number of the academic career and organizing contexts of the participants in this study.

The chapter began to surface an interpretation that the perception of the different requirements of disabled academics as negated differences (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999) were positioned as such by a normative standard and expectations of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) informing organizing processes and practices. This was particularly surfaced where disabled academics sought to bridge the private/public divide to socially codify (Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Deegan, 2000; Morris 1996, Thomas; 1999) and legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) working with impairment effects within organizing processes and practices.

In theorizing disability and impairment effects as differences making a difference which contribute to the career boundaries disabled academics experience, this chapter has addressed the what, career boundaries, and begun to outline the why, suggesting that disability and impairment effects are differences which make a difference for disabled academics in that they mean disabled academics require different organizing requirements to those privileged within their career contexts, and that their requirements are marginalized through assumed ableism.

As Chia (2000:513) notes, discourses constitute organizations through stabilizing and ordering meanings, as “it is through [the]...process of differentiating, fixing, naming, labelling, classifying and relating – all intrinsic processes of discursive organization – that social reality is systematically constructed”. Therefore to strengthen the insights of this chapter, the thesis shifts the theoretical gaze from centring disabled academics’ experiences, to consider *how* and *why* disabled academics difference and marginal “place/space” (Mumby and Clair, 1997:189; Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997), as suggested through the (re)interpretations offered in this chapter, may be discursively constructed through assumed ableism, or non-disability as “*differences from* the majority group” whose requirements may be argued to inform the universalized, standardized and expected within organizing contexts (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:38 emphasis in original).

To theorize how and why disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing are discursively constructed as difference, the discourses which began to be surfaced in this chapter are taken forward to explore this construction of difference through the co-relational constitution (Campbell, 2009b) of disability and ableism through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005; 2007).

Theorizing how and why disability and ableism are discursively constructed, reproduced and maintained through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005;2007) will further strengthen the potential of the disability studies lens to contribute to organization studies by exploring ableism and the work discourses do to shape the career experiences explored in this chapter.

5.9 Chapter summary

As a contribution to answering the research question “What can disabled academics’ career experiences offer to studies of organization” this chapter has offered detailed (re)interpretations of disabled academics’ career experiences identifying five clusters of experiences which resonate across the disabled academics’ narrative accounts, acknowledging where there are similarities and differences within and between these experiences. The clusters highlight similarities and differences between disabled academics experiences which are organized in clusters around (re)interpretations of impairment effects and career choices, declaration of disability, negotiating the organizing context, highlighting the responses of organizational members to disabled academics’ career requirements, involvement in disability equality and the nature and importance of peer relationships. Key emergent issues suggest disabled academics experience different career boundaries to those currently informing the boundaryless and academic career literatures, and their subsequent different organizing requirements are not perceived as legitimate within the disabled academics’ career contexts. The chapter concludes by suggesting how these career boundaries may be shaped by, and surfaces the work discourses do to shape, these career experiences, which are taken forward and explored in detail in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six – Discourses within narrative accounts of career

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five outlined five plurivocal and polysemic (Currie and Brown, 2003) clusters of disabled academics' career experiences, which offered in-depth interpretations of some of the career boundaries disabled academics experience as they pursue their careers. Disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing were theorized as being perceived as differences making a difference in the career boundaries experienced and contributed to the suggestion that disabled academics occupy a marginal "place/space" (Mumby and Clair, 1997:198) in their career contexts.

This marginality was argued to be as an outcome of disabled academics' requirements being perceived as different to the normative expectations drawn upon and informing organizing processes and practices within the academic career and organizing contexts of the participants in this study. The normative expectations against which disabled academics were being assessed were suggested to be premised upon the assumption and privileging of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) non-disability, informing organizing processes and practices. This reflects the understanding that discourse, by stabilizing and ordering meaning, constitutes (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000; Carabine, 2001; Chia, 2000; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) what are recognized as acceptable forms of organizing. Relevant to this thesis, social distinctions (or differences) are argued to be discursively constructed and maintained (Butler, 1999) through organizing processes (Chia, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; West and Zimmerman, 2009), of "emergent patterning of relationships and interactions" (Chia, 1995:588).

The aim of this chapter is therefore to extend the insights outlined in Chapter Five to theorize how the construction of disability and impairment effects as difference are discursively achieved, and why; developing the suggestion outlined in Chapter Five, that this is influenced through assumed ableism, the assumption and centring of non-disability as a normative standard (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) informing organizing processes and practices, and contributing to the positioning of disabled academics' requirements as different, 'Other' within their organizing contexts.

To achieve this, this chapter will outline some of the discourses within disabled academics' narrative accounts. The discourses are organized through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) as a means of articulating how the discourses identified work to construct, reproduce and maintain ableism through organizing processes. The chapter outlines how such processes are argued to marginalize disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing, and how disabled academics attempt to resist such positioning.

As outlined in Chapter Four the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) outlines how voice and visibility are drawn upon as concepts across social sciences and gender literatures. For the purposes of this thesis, and this chapter in particular, voice and visibility are identified as discourses and as discursive resources drawn upon by disabled academics as they narrate their career experiences.

The chapter concludes with a review of the contributions of the chapter, and a summary of the chapter's main argument.

Contributing to answering the research question:

- *What can disabled academics' career experiences offer to studies of organization*

This chapter addresses the research objective:

- *To identify some of the discourses, and discursive resources drawn upon, within disabled academics' career contexts, and interpret the work these discourses do to shape disabled academics' career and organizing experiences*

6.1.2 Interpreting discourses

To support the theorization of the work discourses do in contributing to the construction of what is considered appropriate and legitimate (Carabine, 2001) ways of organizing relevant to disabled academics' experiences, the understanding of discourse informing this thesis is restated here. As outlined in Chapter Four, this thesis, as a narrative inquiry concerned with the career experiences of disabled academics, recognizes that we draw upon discourses as we narrate our experiences (Chase, 1995). It was argued that a narrative inquiry enables a theoretical concern for voice and the experiences of members of particular social groups, where the "social discourses which shape our voices and selves" (Saukko, 2000:299), draws attention to the constructive role of discourse (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000; Carabine, 2001; Chia, 2000; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) in shaping these experiences.

The understanding of discourse in this thesis appreciates that “knowledge both constitutes and is constituted through discourse”, which requires a study of “the social context and social relations within which power and knowledge occur and are distributed” (Carabine, 2001:275).

Broad social discourses are recognized to “act as a resource and a constraint” (Hardy and Phillips, 1999:2) within organizing contexts “form[ing] the contours of contexts guiding the development of local resources” (Kuhn, 2006:1342) for people seeking to “shape their institutional contexts” and if desired enable “different conditions of possibility” (Maguire and Hardy, 2006:23).

The voice and visibility framework is drawn upon in this chapter as an interpretive and theoretical frame (Simpson and Lewis, 2005; 2007) to develop insights into, and an understanding of how, disabled academics’ requirements are positioned and perceived as different to the normative expectations within their organizing contexts, and their subsequent marginality through assumed ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994). This chapter makes some preliminary steps towards “exploring the interdependencies and tensions” (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:91) between the voice and visibility framework conceptualizations, with the aim of understanding how the surface states of voice and visibility are discursively constructed and connected to the deeper conceptualizations of silence and in/(in)visibility (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) in disabled academics’ narrative accounts of career experiences to theorize how and why disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing are discursively constructed as different and marginalized.

6.2 Social interpretation discourse

The social interpretation discourse is so designated to highlight orientations towards disability which redefine the ‘problem’ of disability through refocusing attention from a disabled person’s impairment as inherently problematic and the cause of social marginalization, to re-inscribe disability as “a problem of social organization” (Hughes, 2002:73). This approach critiques the organization of society and work (Oliver, 1983) which do not include or acknowledge the legitimacy of the organizing requirements of people with impairments (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998, Overboe, 1999). This discourse can be understood as a means of achieving a socio-political reading of disabled people’s experiences (Goodley and Lawthom, 2005).

The social interpretation discourse emerges as a discursive resource drawn upon within the disabled academics' narrative texts as they identify some organizing processes and practices as positive, in being orientated towards and including their requirements of working with impairment effects, and as they critique organizing processes and practices which exclude such requirements. **Gina's** narrative text is drawn upon as an exemplar as it highlights how the social interpretation discourse, as a discursive resource, enables Gina to make a reading and comparison of employers, over time.

Gina's interpretation of her experiences changed over time. As Gina narrated her experiences of the first university she worked for, Gina recognized that at the time she thought the first university's practices were poor, however since working for a second university Gina now understands and names the first university practices through a social interpretation discourse.

Gina explicitly cites her first three employers after becoming impaired (one of which was a university) as working from a social interpretation discourse "at least the first three organizations I worked for basically operated a social model of disability". This was reflected in her experiences of organizing processes and practices which included consideration of disabled people's impairment effects related ways of organizing. This was evidenced for Gina in central functions' operations practices such as Human Resources, who initiated the assessment of her impairment effect related requirements, the approach adopted to the provision of assistive technology for interviews and when appointed, within her office and monitoring additional or new requirements when Gina later became involved in project work across the university. This inclusion of impairment effects related requirements was also embedded in organizing processes, for example the relationship Gina had developed with her line manager (the School Dean) which enabled a discussion on how they could work inclusively to meet a tight deadline which took into account a consideration of impairment effects in how they would work as a team.

Gina also drew upon the social interpretation discourse in naming her own practices, and how she operated as distinct to the poor practices she experienced in her most recent university, for example in how she had previously line managed a partially sighted colleague "he had to use an aid to view things and it took him longer to read students' work...and I would automatically have thought of that because that is just how the organization worked".

Other participants similarly emphasized an expectation of employers to acknowledge and enable their way of working with impairment effects, for example how they would reject them as potential employers, which I have interpreted as reflecting a social interpretation discourse around inclusive practices (Germon, 1998; Swain and Cook, 2001; Thomas, 1999). As **Gregory** notes “well if it’s a problem to you I don’t want to work there... if my potential boss had a problem because I’m disabled then, no matter how annoying it is, I’d be better off not going there, than accepting it”. Similarly, as **Sophia** talked of how she used interviews and a discussion over flexible working to assess employer’s response to her requirements and hence their suitability or otherwise, highlighting one experience when the interview panel didn’t understand her requirements, suggesting her response was “ah right well we’re not going to work together then are we’. I didn’t quite say that in the interview, but I probably would now...at that point I knew the interview was over”.

A further example of how disabled academics draw upon a social interpretation discourse as a resource is **Holly’s** and **Catherine’s** rejection of language which categorized their requirements in the realm of individualism. Holly rejected her employer’s attempts to categorize her requirements as ‘special’ and therefore additional and outside normative expectations when she applied for promotion. Catherine narrated an ambiguous questioning of the appropriateness of considering her access requirements as “needs”, “different needs” and “perhaps special needs”, which reflects Corker’s (1998) suggestion that the social interpretation conceptualizes special needs language as drawing upon an individualization of disability.

An additional way in which the social interpretation discourse is interpreted as being drawn upon is in the commitment to being involved with or orientating research agendas towards effecting change in the disabled academics’ respective disciplines by improving understanding of disability (**Catherine, Sophia and Holly**), as Holly notes “I’m going to put this stuff in these mainstream journals and make them have to read it”. Additionally, forging a space for disabled people’s perspectives within organizing processes (**Sophia and Holly**), and engaging in university disability equality activities to bring about institutional change both for themselves and other disabled staff (**Abigail, Gina, Samuel, Holly**). This can also be interpreted as reflecting the social interpretation discourse in their expectations that the organizing processes and practices should change to accommodate and accept the legitimacy (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) of disabled academics’ impairment effects related requirements, by challenging the normative expectations they experienced within their organizing contexts.

Sophia, as an example, critiqued her current organization by suggesting there are “overwhelming levels of things that haven’t been done or thought about coherently and there’s no holistic taking in of disability issues”, to which Sophia’s response was to engage in disability equality activities as a form of “self preservation”. **Samuel** stressed how he’d “been driving what [Disability Adviser] is doing currently which is making up the database to improve access”; seeking change to the room booking system to ensure accessible rooms are booked after experiencing resistance and being excluded from meetings due to the organizing practices within his university.

This is interpreted as connecting to the desire to bring about change for themselves and others through research and organizational engagement, reflecting disabled academics’ auto-ethnographic and theoretical accounts (Campbell et al., 2008; French, 1998; Gibson, 1996; Guelke, 2003; Tidwell, 2004; Trowler and Turner, 2002; Woodcock et al., 2007) and connecting with the disability studies literature emphasis upon engagement in effecting change (Oliver, 1992) particularly through praxis (Abberley, 1987; Goodley and Van Hove, 2005; Oliver, 1996; Roulstone, 1998a) when directing personal research agendas towards researching experiences of disability.

Within these accounts, and by drawing upon the social interpretation discourse, the disabled academics are interpreted as refuting the individualization of disability, by surfacing and challenging organizing processes and practices, the responses they receive, and language used about disabled people, as problematic, rather than the disabled academics themselves.

Disabled academics drawing upon the social interpretation discourse to narrate career experiences, can be understood as a critique of organizing which is orientated towards “suit[ing] the requirements of non-disabled people...which ignore the requirements of disabled people” (Swain et al., 2003:23), and reflecting ableist assumptions (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) which locate the requirements of disabled people as outside normative expectations, positioning them as ‘Other’ (de Beauvoir, 1972; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Shakespeare, 1994) whilst assuming non-disability as the norm (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; French, 2001; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990, 2009; Swain et al., 2003).

The social interpretation discourse, understood through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) can be understood as establishing “discursive space” (Weedon, 1997:107), which enables disabled academics to construct “alternative forms of knowledge” (Weedon (1997:108). This alternative knowledge constructed through the social interpretation discourse is interpreted here as challenging the (in)visibility and transparency of non-disability norms, contesting the exclusion of the legitimacy (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998) of impairment effects related ways of working. This is interpreted as a form of resistance within the voice and visibility framework, and is therefore returned to in Section 6.6.3.1 below.

Disabled academics are understood to draw upon the social interpretation discourse as a means of recognizing, naming and countering (Abberley, 2002; Corker and French, 1999), a dominant individual interpretation discourse (Corker, 2000; Oliver 1983, 1990) within their organizing contexts and naming the extent to which other organizational actors draw upon the individual interpretation discourse in response to their career claims, to which this chapter now turns.

6.3 Individual interpretation discourse

An important aspect of the social interpretation discourse is that it conceptualizes and names the individual interpretation (Oliver, 1983) discourse (Corker, 1998). Chapter Two conceptualized the individual interpretation of disability as incorporating the deviance, individual, medical and tragedy models of disability, understood to

perceive and classify disability in terms of a meta-narrative of deviance, lack and tragedy, and assume it to be logically separate from and inferior to ‘normalcy’(Corker and Shakespeare, 2002:2)

The work of the individual interpretation discourse is thus understood to validate non-disability as normality (Campbell, 2009b; French, 2001; Hughes, 2007; Oliver, 2009), and draw the focus and emphasis of assumed difference to normality to position disabled academics within their organizing contexts. This individualization locates the nature of any difficulties meeting organizational requirements as the ‘problem’ of the disabled academic due to their perceived biological or functional limitations (Oliver, 1983, 1990) rather than as requiring a social response (Oliver, 2009; Swain et al., 2003; Thomas, 2007), or as an outcome of the assumptions informing organizing processes and practices (Hughes, 2002).

The individual interpretation discourse is identified and interpreted in the disabled academics' narrative accounts as a discourse drawn upon to inform organizing practices such as policy development and enforcement, and organizing processes drawn upon at times by organizational members as they interact with and respond to disabled academics, and impairment effects related requirements. In addition, some disabled academics surfaced a contradiction in the prevalence of the individual interpretation discourse as a resource drawn upon in assessing their requirements, in comparison to the social interpretation discourse which was drawn upon in relation to disabled students within the same organizing contexts, and disabled academics drawing upon both to understand their experiences, considered below.

6.3.1 Critique of organizing processes and practices

As the disabled academics narrated their career experiences, they often critiqued the lack of policies and procedures which included the access requirements of disabled staff, or poor implementation of organizational policies, and interpreted these as examples of the individual interpretation discourse. **Gregory** noted the lack of consideration facilities and timetable practices gave to the requirements of people with mobility related impairments in organizing teaching across campus. **Jonathan** highlighted how even when there was a policy on accessible parking, for example, it was not enforced which left him to struggle with mobility across campus. When policies exist, the failure to operationalize these can be understood to reflect a view of such policies as empty shells (Hoque and Noon, 2004), when a gap between policy and practice means they lack any value (Hoque and Noon, 2004) to effect the practices the disabled academics require to pursue their careers.

Further examples of the individual interpretation discourse can be interpreted as shaping responses to disabled academics' requirements and interacting with others in their organizing contexts, for example when **Holly's** colleagues refused to accept the legitimacy of Holly using breaks as a means of managing impairment effects, interpreting this as anti-social, unacceptable, and outside the realms of 'normal' behaviour, rather than something which could be acknowledged as a legitimate response to impairment effects. Similarly, **Samuel's** interpretation of a member of staff's refusal to include Samuel's mobility related requirements when booking committee rooms is interpreted as reinforcing the perception that his mobility requirements were his individual problem and not the concern of his colleague or how meetings are expected to be organized within the university.

Gina explicitly named the responses she received, and at times the lack of response, in the second university she worked for as drawing upon an individual approach “clearly operates a medical model so it’s my problem... that would be just my problem”. A privileging of a medical interpretation is further evident in the response **Holly** received to her request for a phased return to work, reflecting a misconception that impairment effects related ways of working which needed to be managed as an aspect of organizing processes and practices, were in fact ill health, a common misconception and one which reinforces the medical aspect of the individual interpretation discourse (Hurstfield et al., 2003). Further interpretations of the individual interpretation discourse are seen in medical researchers’ responses to, categorization (patient not peer), and subsequent exclusion, of **Sophia** at academic conferences, the privileging of a medical assessment following **Catherine’s** request for suitable seating, and **Gina’s** request for a particular chair and desk arrangement. Catherine’s and Gina’s narratives highlight their feelings of marginalization when the opinion of external experts was privileged over their own expertise in understanding which assistive technologies were suitable for their requirements.

To summarize, the lack of policies or procedures for staff to rely upon, negative responses to ways of working, the refusal to organize meetings around impairment effects and the medicalized responses received intimates that disabled academics’ requirements are not necessarily recognized as legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) within their organizing contexts. Rather, this suggests an individualized (Oliver, 1990) understanding of disabled academics’ organizing requirements, and an expectation that disabled academics should manage these themselves as they require working arrangements which differ to those recognized as legitimate within their organizing context, rather than invoking a socially inclusive (Thomas, 2007) response. The exclusion (or failure to follow through policy commitments) of disabled academics’ access requirements can be understood to suggest their organizing contexts assumed ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994), which positioned disabled academics requirements, perceived as different to the norm of non-disability, outside the realms of usual organizing processes and practices.

6.3.2 Disability discourses – disabled staff and students

In addition to the individual interpretation discourse permeating organizing practices and reflected in the “actions, interactions and relationships” (Chia, 1995:585) necessary to organizing processes, the adoption of the individual interpretation discourse in relation to disabled academics is of particular interest compared to the adoption of the social interpretation discourse for disabled students. **Holly**, **Gregory**, and **Gina** highlight a dissonance in the responses they received compared to what they considered their organizations expected for disabled students. **Holly** compared the individualized nature of the organization of her requirements against the organization on behalf of students for similar requirements; “nobody actually took responsibility for them... and yet with students they tend to do this”. **Gina** similarly noted “that sort of thing applied to students as if somehow staff were exempt”, and how disabled staff had to rely upon personal relationships with line managers or HR professionals to negotiate their requirements. **Gregory** highlighted the excellent provision for disabled students at his institution, and a higher level of concern for their wellbeing, than for disabled staff “they are very good here our student support and disability people, but I don’t think they are so good for staff”.

Farish et al. (1995) and Deem et al. (2005) highlight the extent to which disability related inclusion in HE is orientated towards students, whilst universities’ discursive practices may suggest inclusion for both staff and students, a dissonance which Deem et al. (2005) suggest staff recognize. As Corker (1998) argues, new discourses do not necessarily replace old discourses; they co-exist and thus may be drawn upon continuously, intermittently or simultaneously. HE is argued to be dialogic (Trowler, 2001), where academic contexts reflect both external conditions and internal operations which contribute to intertextually connected “multiplicity of discourses with plurivocal meanings” (Trowler, 2001:183), which may partially explain the co-existence of the social and the individual interpretation discourses within disabled academics’ career contexts. Similarly, the dissonance may reflect the extensive funding made available through HEFCE (1999, 2005c) to enable universities to meet their anticipatory DDA duties (SENDA, 2001) for students, whilst such focused funding has not been made available to address disabled staff requirements. This is an interesting issue which falls outside the focus of this thesis yet would benefit from further research.

6.3.3 Moving from an individual to a social interpretation

There are examples within disabled academics' narrative accounts where some disabled academics appear to frame their experiences through both the individual and social interpretation discourses. **Samuel's** text is examined here as an exemplar of this. Samuel's initial reaction when returning to work, whilst rejecting being ostracized from research projects by colleagues, was to spend three years writing up old research. Samuel perceived he was no longer able to participate in the fieldwork aspect of his role during this period, "because I couldn't go out I wrote stuff up that I had already done". It took a positive experience of supportive academic colleagues at a European workshop before Samuel overcame his own resistance (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009) to returning to aspects of his academic role which he had initially considered unachievable "after that you're 'right well get out of the way, stand back' sort of thing".

I have interpreted this as disabled academics initially accepting the individualized discourse of disability when they become impaired, however over time, experience as a disabled person led to a different awareness of the ways in which organizing processes and practices can include impairment effects related requirements of disabled academics. For example over time and following involvement with her union, **Abigail's** perspective and expectations changed and she focused upon expectations of her organization to manage changes to her work remit, rather than the individual and informal negotiations she had initially relied upon. **Sophia** reflected upon how at the time of becoming impaired she did not know what her employers could or should have done to support her remaining in employment and assumed responsibility for her organizing requirements. However, over time, requiring an inclusive response from employers began to frame her expectations. The shift in perspective from an individual to a social interpretation emphasizes the coexistence of contradictory discourses (Corker, 1998) offering "discursive space" (Weedon, 1997:107), and the potential for resistance against dominant discourses (Corker and French, 1999; Sunderland, 2004; Thomas and Davies, 2005; Weedon, 1997), such as the individual interpretation discourse outlined here.

In moving between the individual and social interpretation discourses, disabled academics may have become more attuned to the dissonance and contradictions (Sunderland, 2007) between their organizations' discourses and practices (Deem et al., 2005), and the extent to which individual interpretation discourse permeates organizing processes producing the practices related to their careers, yet their organizing contexts simultaneously drawing on the social interpretation for disabled students.

As Shah (2005: 23) suggests, the individual interpretation of disability remains “extremely significant to the lives of disabled people” and their careers, as it shapes expectations, perceptions of and responses towards disabled people, as they continue to be assessed against conceptions of ‘normality’. That is, assessed against an organizing norm of assumed ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) in their organizing contexts. By drawing upon the social interpretation disabled academics are able to name the individual interpretation discourse as infusing organizing processes and practices and through this discourse assess and critique their organizing contexts (Sunderland, 2007). As Weedon (1997) suggests, it is through exclusion from the normative social order that a critique, through engaging with alternative discourses, can occur. This is reflected in the voice and visibility framework, that listening to marginalized voices can enable dominant discourses to be surfaced to understand how these discourses contribute to maintaining the (in)visible normative order (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007).

In summary, it is suggested here that the outcome of the individual interpretation discourse, as it has been operationalized in these contexts, is to reflect assumptions of disabled academics’ organizing requirements as different to, and outside the scope of, the normative expectations for academic staff within these career contexts. The positioning of disabled academics’ requirements as different to normative expectations is highlighted as emerging from an unfavourable assessment and comparison to assumptions of non-disability as an organizing principle. The individual interpretation discourse when drawn upon to make assessments of disabled academics’ requirements is a perspective which, it will be argued, is reinforced through the legislative discourse, which follows.

6.4 Legislative discourses

The legislative discourse is closely connected to both the individual and social interpretation discourses. The DDA (DDA 1995 and subsequent amendments) forms the basis of the legislative framework on disability in the UK. Barnes (2000) suggests the legislation, as understood through the social interpretation discourse, is intrinsically connected to the politicising impact of the DPM and disability studies field, recognized as holding symbolic meaning and of some importance in enhancing opportunities for disabled people (Roulstone and Warren, 2006).

However, it is also argued to reify an individual interpretation of disability (Corker, 2000, Woodhams and Corby, 2003; Foster, 2007; French, 2001; Roulstone 2003; Wells, 2003), which caps employers' perception of their responsibilities, negatively impacts upon its interpretation and application (Woodhams and Corby, 2003).

The legislative discourse was highlighted in disabled academics' narrative accounts as a resource for disabled academics and interpreted within the responses they received from others within their organizing contexts in ways which connected it to both the social and individual interpretation discourses. How the legislative discourse is used as a positive resource and connects with the social interpretation discourse is first considered, then the legislative discourse as a source of constraint and the connections with the individual interpretation discourse is explored.

6.4.1 Legislative discourse as enabling and a tool of critique

Disabled academics draw upon a legislative discourse in critiquing organizing processes and practices. **Gregory** talked of his concern over being discriminated against when deciding whether or not to declare himself as disabled when applying for work, believing he shouldn't as he would face discrimination, and his identifying the DDA as a means of protection were he to feel his current organization were attempting to get rid of him. **Holly** talked of how she read up on the DDA as she prepared to request a return to work after acquiring an impairment, and used guidance relating to the DDA in strengthening her argument for changes to the promotions procedures to include disabled staff requirements.

Holly, Gina, Sophia, Gregory and **Catherine** variously talked of "adjustments" and "discrimination", key concepts within the legislative discourse. For example Gina arguing "one only wants the adjustments in order to be able to do the job" and **Gregory's** concern that "I always thought there was a lot of discrimination against me".

Disabled academics themselves drew upon the legislative discourse when their requests for inclusive working arrangements or when requesting organizing processes or practices were changed to meet their impairment effect related requirements led to responses which indicated that the disabled academics' requests were perceived as unreasonable and/or as falling outside the protection of the legislative framework.

This can be seen, for example, in **Holly's** request and critique of the promotions policy to include "reasonable adjustments", which was met with incredulity, and refusal from a line manager supported by an HR manager, who refused to accept that the policy was not correct. These responses can be interpreted as drawing upon an individualizing approach to disability, and suggesting a (mistaken) belief that an organizing practice such as academic promotions policy was outside the scope of the DDA 1995 duties. **Catherine** critiqued her manager as unreasonable when she argued he had misapplied the legislation when assessing Catherine's request for a suitable chair as unreasonable as it is inequitable in relation to the provision for other non-disabled staff "well you know it has to be equitable and I can't give you something that I can't give another member of staff and I thought 'oh, right. Interesting'".

The responses Holly and Catherine received to their requests can be understood as focusing upon an assessment of the reasonableness of requests for adjustments, finding them unreasonable; a perception which can be understood as premised upon a belief that legislative protection does not extend to such areas of organizational activity or that it applies equally to disabled and non-disabled people. This can be interpreted as suggesting a lack of awareness, understanding or engagement with legislative responsibilities (Foster, 2007; Gooding, 2000; Lucas, 2007; Meager and Hurstfield, 2005; Thornton, 2003). Additionally, suggesting a failure to recognize the DDA does not offer symmetrical protection for non-disabled people and enables some positive discrimination in favour of disabled staff (Dickens, 2007), for example providing equipment which may not be provided to non-disabled staff.

In drawing upon the concepts and language of the legislative framework as discursive resources (Kuhn, 2006), disabled academics can be understood as seeking to use the legislative framework, with its emphasis upon individual rights, equality and justice (Woodhams and Corby, 2007) to protect themselves and as a means of critiquing organizing processes or practices which marginalized or excluded their requirements. The legislative discourse is a discourse disabled academics might reasonably expect employers and managers to acknowledge and accept, and can be drawn upon by disabled academics as leverage to let employers know they are aware of their legal rights (Roulstone et al., 2003). However, the examples drawn upon here can be interpreted as strengthening the suggestion in Section 6.3 that disability related requirements are excluded from and fall outside of normative expectations and the social order (Weedon, 1997) within disabled academics' career contexts.

6.4.2 Legislative discourse as a source of constraint

Where managers had a choice over the application of the legislation, Woodhams and Corby (2003) suggest they are then often less likely to draw upon the liberal equality framework underpinning the legislation, and potentially drawn towards a weaker interpretation of the legislation (Woodhams and Corby, 2003). Woodhams and Corby (2003) suggest the limited individualized definitions, informing and included in the legislative definition of disability negatively impact upon managers who may think medically (as codified within the legislation) as well as contextually, moderating their responses to disabled staff. For example: a lack of action when **Sophia** became impaired, and the responses she receives from interview panels to requests for flexible working; the response **Holly** received to requests to return to work on a phased return and **Abigail's** requests for altered work remits; the lack of concern expressed in response to **Samuel's** request for accessible room bookings for disability committee meetings; and **Gregory's** observation of a lack of follow through after consultation with disabled staff over the school move.

There are difficulties surfaced when adopting the legislative discourse, as it further intersects with the individual interpretation discourse. This is due to the main understanding of disability codified within the legislation being premised upon an individual and medical interpretation (impairment *is* disability) which is based upon concepts of 'normal' physical and mental functionality (DRC, 2004). This is reflected in the legislation which requires disabled people who want to draw upon the legislation to confirm they can conform to the criteria of an inability to carry out 'normal' day to day activities (French, 2001; Wells, 2003) and by default, unable to conform to this notion of normality (Corker, 2000; Foster, 2007; Woodhams and Corby, 2003). The legislation is understood to therefore position disabled people unfavourably against a normative standard and expectation of non-disability.

Additionally, the reasonable adjustment duty extends only to a consideration of the disabled individual and does not require organizations to go beyond the specific requirements of the individual, potentially leaving wider organizational norms unchallenged. This may be partially challenged by recent legislative changes through the DDA 2005 (DDA 2005) positive duties and the anticipated Equality Act 2008-2009 (ECU, 2009), however at the time of this research there was a lack of research reviewing the impact of the DDA 2005 within HE.

It is suggested by the way in which the legislative discourse is drawn upon here, and Section 6.4.1, that these criteria, embedded within the legislative discourse, inform managers and other organizational members' responses (or lack of responses) to, and assessments of, disabled academics, and impairment effects related requirements. Further, the concept of reasonable adjustment itself may suggest to some that disabled people receive 'special treatment' (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Robert and Harlan, 2006), a negative concept highlighted by both **Catherine** and **Gina**. Catherine and Gina experienced this interpretation when Catherine requested a particular chair and Gina requested assistive technology for her office, thus their requirements were not considered reasonable, leading to their requests being refused.

Employers are able, in certain circumstances, to justify treating disabled people less favourably than non-disabled people, and to find requested adjustments to organizational practices, processes or other arrangements unreasonable (Dickens, 2007; Woodhams and Corby, 2003). However, it would seem spurious to suggest that the chair Catherine required, the chair, desk and assistive technology Gina requested, were unreasonable within the spirit of the law.

Harlan and Robert (1998:417) suggest employers may resist disabled staff requests for adjustments for a number of reasons; as attempts to "discourage employees, to buy time before having to make a change, or to send a message to other employees that their requests for accommodation are unwelcome and not easily obtained". Both Harlan and Robert (1998) and Foster (2007) interpret a lack of action or willingness to adjust work practices to meet disabled people's needs as reflecting employers' desire to keep such issues off organizational agendas. Additionally, Harlan and Robert (1998) and Foster (2007) draw attention to the potential for the legislation to be a discourse which whilst purportedly available as a means of critique of organizational practices of exclusion, can be used to maintain processes and practices which marginalize the requirements of disabled academics by finding them unreasonable.

Overall the legislative discourse can be understood as open to equivocal interpretations. In Section 6.4.1 a reverse (Weedon, 1997) interpretation of the legislative discourse is suggested to enable a critique of organizing processes and practices which exclude disabled academics' requirements. Here, it is suggested to inform responses to disabled academics as a form of control when used by managers and from an organizational perspective to restrict or limit the ability of disabled academics to effect change to organizing processes and practices (Foster, 2007; Harlan and Robert, 1998).

This can be interpreted as undermining the potential of the legislation to influence organizing processes and practices away from a perspective which is orientated towards “a male, white, heterosexual norm”, to recognizing and valuing difference (Dickens, 2007:474).

Drawing upon the legislative discourse, therefore, can be understood to reinforce disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing as the inversion of normality when assessing disabled academics and therefore contributing to “inaugurating what can be said and what is unsayable about disability” (Campbell, 2009b:131), contributing to the inauguration of ableism as an organizing norm (Campbell, 2009b) in disabled academics’ career contexts. Inversely, it can be used by disabled academics to critique organizing processes and practices which fail to include their requirements which would enable them to work effectively as people with impairments. As such, an inverse, reverse (Weedon, 1997), reading of the legislative discourse is argued to connect with the social interpretation discourse, and the desire to critique (Weedon, 1997) and refute the effects of the individual interpretation and legislative discourses when interpreted as shoring up normality through ableism as an organizing norm. The social interpretation and reverse (Weedon, 1997) reading of the legislative discourse are argued to name the normative order through supporting disabled academics’ critique of, and making visible, organizing principles which exclude their requirements (Weedon, 1997).

6.5 Discourses of voice and silence

A discourse of voice, a concern to be heard and their requirements recognized as legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998) without negation (Overboe, 1999) resonates across disabled academics’ narrative accounts, particularly in relation to declaration, in critiques of processes and practices and involvement in equality related activities. However the interpretation of voice in this thesis is inextricably connected with silence and perceptions of difference. Where disabled academics have raised their voice to articulate their expectations and requirements, they have also highlighted silent responses, silence through exclusion, and the paradoxical connection of voice to perceptions and visibility of disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing as difference (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). Voice, silence and visibility through perceptions of difference are interpreted in the following chapter sections.

6.5.1 Voice

A concern for the voice of disabled people to be acknowledged and included in shaping how disabled people's requirements are met is a central tenet (Morris, 2008), and reflected in the focus, of the DPM (Leach, 1996), and its relationship with disability studies scholars researching disabled people's experiences (Germon, 1998). A discourse of voice resonates across the disability studies literature from early to recent studies (for example Oliver, 1983; Tanenbaum, 2009), concerned particularly with how disabled people's voices often go unheard within a wide range of social contexts. Disability studies influenced researchers and theorists' responses have been to contribute to strengthening this discourse by centring disabled people as knowledge producers in research focused upon experiences of disability/disabled people (Campbell, 2009b; Hughes, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990, 1996; Thomas, 2007) and through praxis, converting theoretical developments into support for social change (Abberley, 1987; Goodley and Van Hove, 2005:15; Oliver, 1996; Roulstone, 1998a).

A discourse of voice is similarly interpreted in disabled academics' narrative accounts of career and organization as they draw upon the social interpretation and a reverse reading of the legislative discourses as resources which enabled a critique of organizing processes and practices draw upon and reflect the individual interpretation discourse, as outlined in detail in Sections 6.3 and 6.4.1 above.

Summarized here, these sections identify how the social interpretation discourse (Section 6.3) enables disabled academics to legitimize (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) their impairment effects related requirements by surfacing how the norms against which they are assessed reflect ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994), the assumption of non-disability, interpreted in this research as shaping organizing processes and practices within their career contexts. The legislative discourse explored in Section 6.4.1 above is similarly identified as a resource which may be interpreted as offering protection (Woodhams and Corby, 2007), drawn upon by disabled academics to support their voice when critiquing organizing processes and practices and as leverage (Roulstone et al., 2003) when negotiating for more inclusive practices.

However, within the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) voice is problematized. A discourse of voice is highlighted as supporting the surfacing of experiences of people who may otherwise be marginalized within organizing contexts, to challenge their marginalization within organizations and to inform research from their perspectives. The voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007), nevertheless, highlights the potential for voice, as a way of gaining recognition for different legitimate experiences or requirements, to contribute to these experiences and requirements being perceived as negated differences to established normative expectations. Voice informing experiences of involvement through disability research in participants' research projects and declaration are explored in more detail as exemplars of this tension.

A discourse of voice is evinced through disabled academics' orientation to develop disability related research within their academic disciplines, as a route to being heard and is interpreted, for example, when disabled academics drew upon experiences of disability and impairment effects to construct research projects. **Catherine** notes "my research direction was shaped by my previous experiences". **Sophia** similarly notes she had "got a fair degree of insight" from her own experiences which informed her research. For **Holly**, disability related research was an outlet for her and her research participants' voices "just to be able to say this is partly my story, but my story is loads of other people's stories". Other disabled people's responses affirmed for Holly the importance of their voices being heard in research, as a colleague responded "she said she sat and read it and she just cried, because at last she had heard something that made sense to her about how she felt" and members of the public calling to say "I'm one of your case studies". Sophia similarly highlighting "you do recognize the debt you owe to the disability rights people and to the other people in your community".

Holly's and Sophia's narratives also surface the importance of voice through effecting positive change through their research projects, Sophia noting "you're raising issues with people that are uncomfortable to answer or trying to change a system". The concern for their own and research participants voices, which ensure their experiences inform research agendas, reflects the literature drawn upon to inform the disability studies lens for this thesis (Barnes et al., 2002; Begum, 1992; Crow, 1996; French, 1993; Morris, 1993a; Oliver and Barton, 2000; Thomas, 1999, 2007) and the desire for disabled people's experiences and voices to inform research across academic disciplines (Erevelles, 2005; Oliver, 1990), including organization studies (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993).

However **Holly** notes voice may be limited by silence, articulated for example through a silent response to disability related research in her wider academic field when taking this research out into the wider academic community through conference papers. Holly suggested “nobody comes because they are not interested”. For Holly publication through mainstream journals is a way of bypassing such silent responses “I’m going to put this stuff in these mainstream journals and make them have to read it”.

Voice is also identified as a concern when disabled academics identified declaration as a means of articulating the importance of achieving impairment effects related ways of organizing, particularly in contexts where these requirements would otherwise not be met through working practices shaped by normative assumptions. **Sophia** and **Gina** for example highlight the importance of voicing their requirements through declaration by speaking up to request and secure working arrangements which are not detrimental to their wellbeing. The necessity of which is surfaced, for example, by Sophia “if I try to work from nine to five I’ll break”, and Gina “I’d be really disabled by the pain, it would do me damage if I didn’t”. Recognized to potentially effect changes within disabled academics career contexts, Sophia suggested that where declaration is absent the “department has not had to have a think about how it works with people, professionals who are disabled, within its work setting”. That is, Sophia can be understood to be arguing that a lack of voice through declaration of impairment effects related requirements maintains, or at least fails to challenge, ableism as an organizing principle.

However Gina goes on to suggest some ambivalence towards voice through declaration and requests for alternative working practices “I’ll have more trepidation than I ever would have before” after the resistant responses she received to her organizing requirements. Gina suggests she may not consider future projects across the organization as “you’d be very discouraged from trying to put yourself forward” in case “they made a huge fuss” about it. Voice through declaration and seeking alternative work arrangements is interpreted here as contributing to the heightened visibility of disability and impairment effects related ways of working as difference, and is therefore interpreted as risky.

The tension in disabled academics’ accounts between seeking a voice alongside a concern for how this may receive a silent response, or surfaces their requirements as difference connects with the paradox of voice, visibility and difference as problematized within the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007).

The experiences of disabled academics highlight how to speak up and be heard when seeking to legitimize impairment effects related requirements which have been previously “hidden from view” (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1270) is a positive aim. Yet this requires a “heightened visibility” of such differences to normative expectations (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1270), which paradoxically appears to further emphasize the visibility of the difference of disability and impairment effects ways of organizing to the norm (non-disability), which consequently shore up ableism as an organizing principle.

6.5.2 Silence

In addition to a concern to raise impairment effects related ways of organizing as legitimate through voice, disabled academics’ narrated accounts highlighted experiences in which silence shaped their career experiences and contributed to their organizing requirements being positioned as different. The individual interpretation and legislative discourses are interpreted as discursive resources through which silence is achieved, evinced in the responses disabled academics received from others, particularly in silent responses to their impairment effects related access requirements, and through exclusion. These discourses contribute to the positioning of disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing as difference by emphasizing an individualized reading of disability and impairment effects and closing down alternative interpretations of disability and impairment effects as legitimate organizing principles. This is achieved through the individual interpretation and legislative discourses as dominant discourses closing down alternative discourses (Weedon, 1997) such as the social interpretation and reverse reading of the legislative discourse, which for disabled academics legitimize disability and impairment effects within organizing processes and practices.

As explored in Sections 6.3 and 6.5.2 above, the individual interpretation and legislative discourses are resources drawn upon by organizational members as they interacted with, interpreted, and responded to disabled academics. **Sophia** recounted experiences of being silenced and invalidated as a disabled researcher when attending conferences through medical research peers drawing upon the individual discourse, Sophia noting how they either attempted to diagnose her impairment and how they talked “about you, in front of you with their colleagues about the fact that you might have [impairment] but don’t bother to tell you what that is”, and at other times she “didn’t even get eye contact”. **Catherine** highlighted how her manager’s response when she raised concerns over her workload was to individualize the issue; “why are you making a noise and why is it a problem for you and it doesn’t seem to be for other people?”

Silence through din, where the voices “of more powerful groups” (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:18) drown out the voices of others can be interpreted, for example, in **Catherine’s** narrative account when she experienced “a whole lot of rigmarole and paper(work), and you name it, in order to get” a suitable chair, which involved extensive negotiations involving layers of management. Catherine is interpreted as then reluctant to request a further stool or chair when she explains “I would anticipate that there might be problems to start with”. Similarly **Gina** emphasizes the silent response received to her request for a desk and chair, highlighted in the legislative discourse above. Gina, having made her manager and other staff aware of her requirements (known from previous assessments with other employers), explained “they weren’t even willing to talk to me about it... there was no willingness to listen, to listen at all ...they would not talk to me direct no one asked me”.

Gina’s and **Catherine’s** experiences of requesting assistive technology foreground how requests for equipment may be minor, such as a chair or desk, yet these requests draw such a din; a din of “negative...noise” and a din of silence (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:18), that they withdrew from further requests, and are interpreted to have effectively been silenced. The legislative discourse is interpreted as contributing to this form of silencing disabled academics when it is drawn upon to locate access/adjustment requests as unreasonable and outside of normative expectations. As Simpson and Lewis (2007:23) highlight, speaking up can result in silencing when requests are considered “excessive, ridiculous or unreasonable”.

Discourses construct particular versions of a topic which come to have truth effects, shape what is considered normal, and have implications for who can speak, about what, in different contexts (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000; Carabine, 2001; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). The individual interpretation and legislative discourses are interpreted as resources (Kuhn, 2006) which are drawn upon to make truth claims over what are recognized and accepted as legitimate ways of organizing within academic career contexts. Moving through the discourses outlined in this chapter is building an argument, reflecting the disability studies literature, that these are more established, dominant, discourses which maintain a stronger hold upon what is considered normal (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000; Carabine, 2001; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). These position disabled academics’ requirements outside of normative expectations and are therefore interpreted as discourses which when drawn upon silence disabled academics as they influence how organizational members think and act (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007).

The individual interpretation and legislative discourses contribute to maintaining non-disability as a normative standard (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) by positioning impairment effects related ways of organizing outside of organizational expectations, evinced by refuting the voices of disabled academics through a range of silent responses.

The disabled academics' narrative accounts highlight a number of other ways, and examples of experiences when disabled academics can be interpreted as being silenced through the responses, or non-response of others. For example, **Gina's** experience of colleagues advising her to silence herself over requests for assistive technology; "I don't think I should make such a big thing of it"; **Gregory** highlighting a silent response after collating colleagues' access requirements for the school relocation plans; "nothing changed they just carried on". **Samuel's** experiences when returning to work can be interpreted as evincing exclusion through silence, where Samuel was no longer invited to participate in the research projects he originally, solely or in partnership, established, repeatedly noting in his narrative account how he was; "written out rather than written in". **Holly's** attempt to raise her and other's voices through disability related research can similarly be interpreted as receiving a silent reception; "no-body comes... no-body wants to come and listen to a disability article".

Additionally, silence through exclusion is evinced by **Gregory** who having spoken out a number of times against organizing practices Gregory suggests that he is now not invited to participate in university wide disability equality activities "I assume they don't invite me because...I think I'm a threat to a lot of them". **Samuel** similarly talked of a concern over being silenced through exclusion "I have to be extremely careful because I think there are a lot of people who would like to throw me off the committee because I'm viewed as trouble you see".

Through Simpson and Lewis' (2005, 2007) voice and visibility framework, it is argued that by listening to the voices of people who are understood to be marginalized and rarely heard, the normative power of the majority, discursively expressed, can be made visible, and processes of silencing can be critiqued as attempts to maintain a normative order which privileges the requirements of some people over others in organizing contexts (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). Voice in the disabled academics' accounts is interpreted as attempts to develop more inclusive career and organizing contexts (including within wider research communities) in the face of organizing processes and practices which reflect an individual interpretation discourse of disability.

Silence, din, and exclusion (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007), are interpreted as responses to disabled academics' attempts to raise their organizing requirements as legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) to develop more inclusive work contexts. Silence, din and exclusion are understood as attempting to close down voice, the social interpretation and reverse reading of the legislative discourse (as drawn upon by disabled academics) as competing or reverse discourses (Weedon, 1997) to the dominant discourses in disabled academics' career contexts. Silence then functions as a means of preventing the alternative truth claims (Carabine, 2001) of disabled academics from being legitimated. Discourses of individual interpretation and legislative discourses are interpreted to have precedence over disabled academics drawing upon the social interpretation and reverse legislative discourses, and can be understood to contribute to discursively constructing, reproducing and maintaining dominant meanings of disability and impairment effects as individualized differences which fail to meet normative expectations (Simpson and Lewis, 2007) in disabled academics' career contexts. As such silence, din and exclusion are interpreted as contributing to the marginalization of disabled academics within their organizing contexts.

6.6 Discourses of visibility and in/(in)visibility

The voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) highlights the saliency of visibility for people whose requirements are considered to be different to normative expectations within their organizing context. Servicing difference can foreground the organizing requirements of different social groups of people, and the social codification of their requirements, for example disabled people (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris, 1996; Thomas, 1999). As such, visibility is understood as a legitimate aim in raising awareness of different requirements and the material consequences when requirements are not met.

However, within the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) it is also argued that a surface construction of the visibility of difference fails to account for or fully explore how the visibility of disability as negated difference is discursively constructed, reproduced and maintained through normative assumptions. This reflects the framework conceptually drawing upon a Foucauldian influenced understanding of discourse to explicate how discourses shape organizing norms (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007), in ways which influences what is acknowledged and accepted to fall within normative expectations within organizing contexts yet which remain transparent to critique.

In turn, constructing what is considered to be different, outside normative expectations (Weedon, 1997), and influences responses to alternative accounts or different requirements (Carabine, 2001) to those which have become established.

That is, the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) outlines the importance of considering how visibility can be discursively constructed through silence and (in)visibility; silent responses to disabled academics' voices, and the "privileging and invisibility of the norm against which women and other minorities are often measured" (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:49). The voice and visibility framework enables an exploration of the advantages and disadvantages of invisibility for those who may otherwise be visible as different to normative expectations within their career contexts.

(In)visibility is distinguished from invisibility in that it represents those whose requirements inform the universalized, standardized and expected within organizing contexts, whereas invisibility refers to attempts by those who fall outside of such normative expectations to conform to these universalized and standardized expectations as a way of avoiding one's requirements being marked as different (Simpson and Lewis, 2007).

Before going on to consider (in)visibility, the following chapter sections outline the paradox of in/visibility for disabled academics, surfaced through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) and the disability studies lens. Consideration is given to how the visibility of disability or impairment effects related ways of organizing are constructed as different to the established normative expectations in the disabled academics career contexts drawing upon the discourses and discursive resources outlined in the chapter so far. These interpretations are suggested to further contribute to an understanding of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) as framing normative expectations in the construction of disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing as negated difference (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999).

6.6.1 Visibility

The disability studies literature resonates with a discourse addressing the implications of invisibility for disabled people. In one sense, the disability studies literature seems to reflect the DPM concern for visibility as a prerequisite to developing the voice of disabled people within mainstream society in order to support the argument for full civil rights and social inclusion (Tregaskis, 2004) as a response to disabled people being perceived as previously “politically invisible” (Leach, 1996: 89). As Simpson and Lewis suggest, visibility may be an advantage when seeking recognition of the legitimacy of different requirements, issues, or concerns that had previously "been hidden from view" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1270).

This concern for having a voice is reflected in disabled academics’ narrative accounts, where voice, speaking up and being heard is interpreted in disabled academics’ career experiences explored in Section 6.6.1 as one way of achieving such an aim. Exploration of experiences of involvement through disabled academics researching disabled people’s experiences, and declaration were used as exemplars which highlighted the importance of voice in surfacing the legitimacy (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) and social codification (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris, 1996; Thomas, 1999) of disability and impairment effects informed ways of organizing. This connects with the discourse in disability studies supporting the visibility of disabled people in the pursuit of recognition for legitimate (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999) different, organizing requirements to those of non-disabled people (Swain et al., 2003).

Voice is thus a discourse through which different disability and impairment effect related ways of organizing and requests for alternative practices are positively made visible. This is relevant for disabled academics, as Chapter Five identified disabled academics experienced a range of career boundaries which related to the need for inclusive arrangements which accommodated impairment effects related requirements, and the extent to which these were argued, by disabled academics, to be legitimate, different, ways of organizing, which were not always recognized within their organizing contexts.

Difference (Simpson and Lewis, 2007) and specifically disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing as difference need not equate to negation (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999). Overboe (1999) and Gray (2009) argue the recognition, or social codification (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris, 1996; Thomas, 1999) of disability and impairment effects related different requirements should encourage more inclusive organizing processes and practices in response, a view reflected in HE focused research (Lucas, 2008; NIACE, 2008), and argued by Sophia and Holly in their narrative accounts. There were also examples within the disabled academics' narrative accounts where disabled academics' line managers or colleagues responded in ways which acknowledged their different requirements in ways which reduced the visibility of these as negated difference. **Samuel**, for example, felt less visibly different among colleagues who "mucked in" to enable Samuel's mobility around a conference venue, interpreted as the recognition and legitimation of Samuel's different mobility requirements and responding in an inclusive way which did not mean Samuel felt his different requirements were negated.

However, within the disabled academics' narrative accounts there were more examples of harm than help (Gersick et al., 2000). As Section 6.6.1 suggests, voice may lead to a "heightened visibility" of difference to the norm (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1270) for disabled academics, through the truth effects (Carabine, 2001; Hall, 2001) of the individual interpretation and legislative discourses. The silencing responses of a din of "negative...noise" and a din of silence (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:18) from others in their organizing contexts when disabled academics spoke up to identify what were perceived to be legitimate, different, requirements, contributed to the visibility of their requirements as outside of, and unacceptable in comparison to, normative expectations.

This reflects a second thread to the discourse of visibility within the disability studies literature, where there is a concern for how disabled people are "constructed as negatively different" (Chouinard, 1999:143) through the constituting effects of normative expectations of ableism, non-disability. This is a discourse which, like voice, resonates across the disability studies literature (for example Campbell, 2005, 2008a/b, 2009b; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990), and which is interpreted in the academics' narrative accounts where a concern that requests for inclusive approaches to organizing led to the heightened visibility of their requirements as difference, with negation.

This is highlighted by the individual interpretation and legislative discourses in this chapter, which have repeatedly been argued to have contributed to this negation, by individualizing disability rather than supporting a perception of disability and impairment effects related different requirements as legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) organizing principles.

Further to the examples of the individual interpretation and legislative discourses outlined in Sections 6.3 and 6.5.2, **Gina**'s narrative account is drawn upon as an exemplar of the discourse of visibility as negation. The response Gina received to a suggestion of an alternative inclusive filing system highlights an awareness of the heightened visibility and perception of her requirements as different to the normative expectations in her then current career context. Gina's suggestion of an alternative filing system that she could reach without invoking painful impairment effects, received a response which individualized the requirement rather than appreciating Gina's proposal as a legitimate alternative, and inclusive, approach. As Gina suggested "it isn't good for anybody to carry big box files about". Gina explained she was advised "well then you can have three or four ring binders instead if you like, but that is really difficult for everybody else, but everything else has to stay in these box files and you'll just have to ask for somebody to lift them down". Gina surmised "those kind of things make you feel very different". When Gina is able to secure appropriate arrangements, such as assistive technology, she notes how this reduces her visibility as different "give me the equipment and my working practices won't look very different to anyone else's".

Visibility is highlighted here as both important in supporting disabled academics' voices within their career and organization contexts, yet paradoxically visibility is also connected to experiences of their impairment effects related requirements being perceived as negated difference (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999), which contributes to their requirements being perceived as outside of normative expectations.

6.6.2 In/(in)visibility

6.6.2.1 Invisibility

Simpson and Lewis (2005, 2007) highlight that whilst visibility may result in requirements being perceived as different to normative expectations and lead to such requirements being excluded in their organizing context, invisibility offers the opportunity to remain unmarked as 'different'. For disabled academics, invisibility can be achieved through maintaining a silence on the saliency of impairment effects or disability within one's career, or by adopting 'universal' organizing expectations as organizing principles within their careers. This reflects the discourse in the disability studies literature where the invisibility of impairments (Foster and Fosh, 2006; Foster, 2007) or impairment effects are highlighted as offering options for some disabled people, in some circumstances, to adopt a "choice to disclose" repertoire" (Bowker and Tuffin, 2002:327). An aspect of the choice repertoire is conforming to normative expectations of non-disability as a means of "passing" (Sherry, 2004:773). This can be interpreted in disabled academics' narrative accounts when they adopt strategies and negotiate their career contexts in ways which reduce the visibility of their requirements as different to normative expectations.

Invisibility is interpreted in some disabled academics' narrative accounts, for example, where they consider self-silencing. As explored in Section 6.5.1, **Gina** considered silence as an approach to achieving invisibility when she reflected upon the negative experiences in her most recent organization by suggesting she would not declare her impairment effects related requirements in the future. A concern over future negative responses therefore can be understood to contribute to disabled academics' concerned and potentially self-limiting, self-silencing responses (French, 2001; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Shah, 2005; Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2008) to achieve invisibility. However Gina acknowledged the risks of this strategy would mean facing consequences such as an increased reliance upon pain killers and potentially ill health. A potential negative outcome is also seen in **Abigail's** account, where by maintaining the invisibility of her impairment effects, through choosing informal routes to changes in her work remit, meant work leaked out into personal time (French, 2001), and contributed to exacerbating debilitating impairment effects (Harlan and Robert, 1998).

I have interpreted **Catherine's** approach as an exemplar of a disabled academic seeking to negate impairment effects within career choices, to render them invisible. However, when Catherine reflects upon her approach she highlighted a tension by suggesting that whilst she may always have chosen to negate her impairment effects within the career choices, the lack of organizational concern over the implications of her impairment related requirements is problematic; "there certainly is no particular attention to any of my perhaps special needs before I would have expressed them, and that's, I'm probably quite alright with that, that's how I've worked all my life". Catherine's approach can therefore be interpreted as equivocal (Weick, 1979) and context dependent. For example, the office move in her current university when Catherine's needs were not considered, or when she required a different chair, and Catherine felt a fuss was made, she had to "go through a whole lot of rigmarole and paper(work), and you name it, in order to get it". Catherine now anticipates resistance from senior managers were she to request further equipment "I think they would be surprised and I would anticipate that there might be problems to start with. Not with my immediate manager but with managers above". It is when discussing this that the equivocality and the impact of the organizing context surfaces most clearly

I don't know if whether sometimes if there was more of a, of a recognition that I might have different needs that I would be more, I would come forward with my needs more easily, probably that is the case.

The difficulty for Catherine is to pursue her career whilst negating impairment effects, yet seeking acknowledgement and recognition that she has different requirements. Were there to be a more inclusive context, Catherine may well be less inclined to negate these requirements, which may open up more career opportunities. This highlights the difficulties disabled academics face in contexts where there is a need to speak up to have one's requirements met, as this makes one vulnerable to being silenced or visible as different.

Thus, disabled academics such as Gina, Abigail and Catherine whose narratives are interpreted as highlighting a discourse of invisibility, are required to make a choice. To make themselves visible as different to normative expectations in order to receive the organizational support they require, or to remain silent and attempt to fit in with normative non-disability infused processes and practices. This may be understood as a survival mechanism rather than an overt strategy of choice (Harlan and Robert, 1998).

As Fairhurst and Putnam (2004:14) suggest, organizational members may "situate themselves vis-à-vis 'normative' behavioural" expectations to avoid being labelled as different as a response to the effects of dominant discourses within their organizing contexts. However, as Simpson and Lewis (2005, 2007) suggest this is a non-choice, as both self silencing or adopting the universalized, standardized normative expectations are options which continue to marginalize people with different requirements. To choose to speak up and make oneself visible and risk being perceived to be different can lead to exclusion. Remaining silent and assimilating to non-impairment norms potentially leaves the disabled academic's requirements unmet.

A risk of adopting invisibility and conforming to normative expectations is also understood to shore up expectations or a desire for normativity, expressed through an individual interpretation of disability which assumes non-disability is the desired state to which people are expected to strive (Campbell, 2009b; Hughes, 2007). Conforming to such normative expectations is the assumed route to social inclusion from an individual interpretation perspective (Oliver, 1983, 2009). The normalization process can thus be understood as strengthened through homogeneity around accepted norms. Disabled academics 'choice' of invisibility may contribute to strengthening the assumption of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) within their career contexts.

6.6.2.2 (In)visibility

The voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007), in drawing upon a Foucauldian understanding of discourse, seeks to surface the "transparency of the norm" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1263) and its role in shaping organizing contexts and privileged interests. That is, the (in)visibility of organizing norms which reflect those people whose requirements inform the universalized, standardized and expected within organizing contexts, contribute to shaping expectations of all organization members (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007).

In the context of this thesis the advantage of (in)visibility is in not needing to think about or pay attention to one's (Simpson and Lewis, 2007) non-disability related requirements as these are reflected in the organizing process and practices which construct the organizing context. Discourses which contribute to the construction, reproduction and maintenance (Carabine, 2001; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) of ableism as a normative expectation (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) in disabled academics' career and organizing contexts, have been argued in this chapter to be informed by the individual interpretation and legislative discourses. It is argued in Sections 6.3 and 6.5.2 that these discourses contribute to affirming non-disability as normality (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Corker, 2000; Corker and Shakespeare, 2002; Foster, 2007; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hughes, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990; Woodhams and Corby, 2003). The truth effects (Carabine, 2001) of the individual interpretation and legislative discourses are highlighted as shaping the "thinking, attitudes, and behaviour" (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:73) of some organizational members in disabled academics' career contexts as they draw upon these discourses in response to disabled academics organizing requirements. This is despite the social interpretation discourse being drawn upon for disabled students within the same organizing contexts as **Holly**, **Gregory** and **Gina** note.

Normativity is surfaced when disability and impairment effects ways of organizing are rejected, as disability (as negation) is understood to be always present, constructed as 'Other' in talk of normalcy, normality and 'how things are' (Campbell, 2005, Hughes, 2007). As Simpson and Lewis (2007) argue, by broadening the research focus to draw attention to organizing norms which stay "unmarked, unnamed and unmapped" (Shome, 1996:503), the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) enables an appreciation and surfaces the positioning of non-disability as an organizing norm, and disability and impairment effects ways of organizing as 'Other'.

(In)visibility within the voice and visibility framework's (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) perspective is strategic, the construction of norms around the organizing requirements of some people whilst excluding the requirements of others to maintain the normative order. (In)visibility enables normative expectations of ableism, non-disability premised organizing, to be maintained. However, as Weedon suggests, discourses establish "discursive space" (Weedon, 1997:107) which paradoxically enables "alternative forms of knowledge" (Weedon, 1997:108) to unfold.

Alternative forms of knowledge may be drawn upon to resist dominant discourses, and contest the normative state within organizing contexts. For example as outlined in Sections 6.3 and 6.4.1, disabled academics are argued to have drawn upon the social interpretation and reverse reading of the legislative discourses. However such resistance can be contested, and it is this contestation over the norm which is argued to contribute to making visible normative assumptions which privilege some people by orientating organizing processes and practices around their interests and requirements, argued to then become universalized and generalized, whilst the requirements of others are omitted (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). Within the voice and visibility framework this is identified as a form of resistance, both of defending organizing norms and of attempts to make these visible, to which this chapter turns to further explore (in)visibility of ableism with disabled academics career and organizing contexts, and further contribute to theorising how and why disabled academics' career and organizing requirements are positioned as different through assumed ableism.

6.6.3 Discourses of resistance

So far this chapter has developed the argument that disabled academics can be understood to resist ableism and make it visible (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) as an organizing principle by drawing upon the social interpretation and a reverse (Weedon, 1997) reading of the legislative discourse, seeking to make their voices heard in order to legitimate their different organizing requirements. In response, however, other organizational members can be understood to resist such resistances (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009), and it is suggested it is in this contested space that the "unmasking" (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:54) of normative assumptions can be achieved. This section draws together these arguments, interpreting them through the voice and visibility framework where resistance plays an important role.

6.6.3.1 Discourse of resistance – disabled academics

The VCRM (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998:126) reading one draws attention to reoccurring "images words, metaphors" within participants narrative accounts. When reading the narrative accounts for this reading, I interpreted resistance in disabled academics' interpretations of their experiences, which provided some insights into how at times disabled academics conceptualize their position as one of resistance within their organizing contexts, particularly when seeking the legitimization of their impairment effect related requirements informing and shaping organizing processes and practices.

Jonathan talked of having to “battle” over support to move equipment and “argue” over the provision of a suitable chair. **Gina** talks of being placed in an “adversarial” position in relation to her organization in response to the treatment she received, and of needing to decide whether to be a “campaigner” and change organizing processes, and of interpreting her organization’s lack of interest in embedding disabled staff requirements into organizing processes as staff being perceived to be old enough to “battle” for their own needs. **Sophia** initially felt the only “fight” she could take on was doing her job to the best of her ability, she couldn’t “fight” the organization, of not being able to “fight every battle” and needing line management support to ensure she was protected from others, senior managers, insisting upon normative standards of practice being implemented. **Holly** talked of other staff in her school “battling” with the head of school in relation to bullying and disability, and of “fighting” her university for the implementation of their disability equality scheme. **Samuel** talked extensively of the “resistance” he had experienced from other staff to his drive for disability related improvements across the university.

A discourse of resistance can also be interpreted through disabled academics’ involvement in disability equality activities, which is interpreted as offering disabled academics a mechanism through which they can resist exclusionary practices and bring about reform, by engaging in current organizing processes and practices (Ashcraft, 2008). As Hanson (2007) suggests involvement through service activities can be subversive, seeking to effect change within one’s own practice, institution or discipline, for example, as **Samuel** highlighted, campaigning for over fifteen years to have work carried out on lift access to a building, deciding to join the disability committee, and working directly with the disability team to change the room booking system within his university. Resistance can also be seen in **Holly’s** campaigning to change the promotions procedure in ways which include the requirements of disabled academics and involvement with the university disability network, whilst simultaneously refuting attempts of senior staff to locate responsibility for developing equality initiatives with disabled staff themselves as ‘designated authorities’. Resistance through involvement is also interpreted in how **Sophia** talked of becoming involved in the design processes of her school’s new building to ensure it is suitable for her, and other disabled staff’s, requirements.

Involvement as a form of resistance can also be seen when disabled academics focused upon disability within their research agendas (Ashcraft, 2008), for example how **Holly** and **Sophia** aimed to challenge the orthodox individual interpretation discourses of disability and to get disability ‘onto the agenda’ within their respective disciplines.

A discourse of resistance is further evidenced in the strategies adopted by disabled academics as they negotiated their career contexts. This included resisting gatekeepers' (Becher and Trowler, 2001; King, 2001) attempts to thwart career aspirations, as **Samuel** demonstrates, when refusing to accept a lack of management when he returned to his career after acquiring an impairment, and his exclusion from research projects, by changing his academic department and proactively building relationships to regain involvement in research activities. Similarly **Catherine** resisted by refusing to accept poor treatment from her line manager by leaving the NHS, and seeking employment within academia. **Holly** refused to accept she couldn't return to work and sought support from her GP, the university occupational health department and human resources to put pressure upon her head of department to negotiate her return to work.

These examples connect with and further extend disabled academics' engagement with and drawing upon the social interpretation discourse as outlined in Section 6.3 as a form of resistance. In doing so disabled academics are interpreted as adopting a conceptualization of their career experiences which critique those organizing processes and practices which exclude their requirements, and challenging attempts to individualize disability, by locating the problem as disabled academics' requirements falling outside of organizing norms (Oliver, 1983, 1990).

An aspect of disabled academics' resistance is to draw upon discourses of voice and visibility in seeking to develop a social interpretation of disability which re-focuses attention to the social organization (Hughes, 2002) of their career contexts. Such a focus aims to have their voices (for example Germon, 1998, Leach, 1996; Morris, 2008; Oliver, 1983; 1990; Thomas, 2007) heard, experiences acknowledged and different requirements legitimated (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) within their career contexts by raising concerns or requesting alternative practices as outlined in Section 6.3.

Similarly, drawing upon a reverse (Weedon, 1997) reading of the legislative discourse, Section 6.4.1 surfaced a contradiction in the interpretations of this discourse between the normative standard of non-disability against which disabled academics narrated they were often assessed (and found lacking) and their own use of a reverse (Weedon, 1997) reading of the legislation discourse to make requests for more inclusive organizing processes and practices and to critique organizing processes and practices as non-inclusive.

Being able to draw upon the social interpretation and reverse (Weedon, 1997) reading of the legislative discourses to identify, name and critique the individual interpretation and legislative discourse as informing normative assumptions within their career and organizing contexts, disabled academics narrated a concern with being silenced (Section 6.5.2) and their requirements made visible as negated differences (Section 6.6.1) to the normative expectations shaping their career contexts. This reflects an understanding of resistance as “a constant process of adaptation, subversion and reinscription of dominant discourses” (Thomas and Davies, 2005:687). In doing so, disabled academics are interpreted as challenging and contesting the transparency (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) of normative assumptions within their career contexts argued in this research to be premised upon ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994). This is challenged by making visible the ways in which disabled academics’ organizing requirements are positioned as different to those requirements anticipated and associated with universalized and generalized norms (Hughes, 1999; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007; Weedon, 1997) within their career contexts. This interpretation contributes to an understanding of the salience of disability and ableism informing organizing processes and practices within disabled academics’ career and organizing contexts.

The social interpretation discourse which supports the reverse reading of the legislative discourse can be understood to have contributed to constructing a space (Weedon, 1997) for disabled academics to scrutinize and critique the normative ableist assumptions inherent in the individual interpretation discourse, which in some disabled academics’ narrative accounts were specifically named and rejected. As outlined in Section 6.3 the social interpretation enables disabled academics to recognize, name and counter (Abberley, 2002; Corker and French, 1999) the dominant individual interpretation (Corker, 2000; Oliver 1983, 1990) and legislative discourses, and assess the extent to which other organizational actors draw upon these dominant discourses in response to disabled academics’ impairment effects related organizing requirements.

It is suggested that whilst the social interpretation and reverse reading of the legislative discourse supported a concern for voice and the critique of organizing contexts which made disabled academics’ requirements visible as different (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007), the interpretations and theorization outlined in this chapter so far has indicated that these were not the dominant discourses within their career contexts. Rather these were resistant (Thomas and Davies, 2005) and reverse discourses (Weedon, 1997) in response to the dominance of the individual interpretation and legislative discourses.

It is to the role of these dominant discourses in shaping the “thinking, attitudes, and behaviour” (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:73) within organizing contexts in ways which are interpreted as influencing the maintenance of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) as an organizing principle that the chapter now turns.

6.6.3.2 Discourse of resistance – organizational members

The voice and visibility frameworks deep conceptualization of (in)visibility acknowledges the work discourses do to construct, reproduce and maintain organizing norms (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). This is a recognition that some meanings and interpretations within organizing contexts are privileged over others (Simpson and Lewis, 2007), as they shape what is understood as the meaning (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000; Carabine, 2001; Chia, 2000; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) or truth of a given topic (Hall, 2001), and thus what is perceived and accepted as “normative” (Carabine, 2001:268) within organizing contexts.

Whilst discourses of a social interpretation of disability, reverse (Weedon, 1997) reading of the legislative discourse, a concern for voice and critique of organizing processes and practices which made disabled academics’ requirements visible as different has been surfaced, the interpretations, and theorization, outlined in this chapter so far have suggested that these were not the dominant discourses within disabled academics career contexts. Rather the individual and legislative discourses are suggested to be some of the dominant discourses contributing to shaping meanings, interpretations and subsequently contributing to disabled academics’ different organizing requirements being perceived as negated (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999), rather than legitimated (Carabine, 2001; Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) differences, and which contributes to their experiences of marginalization within their career contexts.

The social interpretation and reverse (Weedon, 1999) legislative discourses, a concern for voice and a refutation of processes and practices which locate disability and impairment effects as negated difference (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999) are therefore understood to have supported disabled academics to challenge and resist the truth effects (Carabine, 2001; Hall, 2001) of the individual interpretation and legislative discourses and such resistance is understood as a process of countering and attempting to re-inscribe dominant discourses (Thomas and Davies, 2005).

However, Kärreman and Alvesson (2009) suggest resistances can also be resisted through counter-resistance. That is “moves of resistance...evoke counter-moves that undermine, contradict and subvert them” (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009:1121). Taking the notion of counter-resistance as “the neutralization of resistance work” (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009:1140), enables an understanding of how the social interpretation discourse and reverse (Weedon, 1997) reading of the legislative discourse, voice and refuting disability related differences as negation through the naming of ableism as a form of contestation (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) against assumptions of non-disability in organizing academic career contexts, is countered and contradicted in ways which may prevent the critiques of disabled academics from destabilizing normative standards premised upon ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994). This also reduces the potential for disabled academics’ disability and impairment effects related inclusive practices (developed through the social interpretation and reverse (Weedon, 1997) legislative discourse) from becoming acceptable norms of conduct within their career contexts (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007).

In drawing upon the individual interpretation of disability and legislative discourse as outlined in Sections 6.3 and 6.5.2, organizational members can be interpreted as resisting the legitimacy (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) of disabled academics’ career and organizing claims, especially where this requires the social codification (Deegan, 2000; Barnes and Mercer, 2005; Morris, 1996; Thomas, 1999) of impairment effects related ways of organizing, which would challenge normative conceptions of organizing academic careers.

Such resistance can be seen in a number of disabled academics’ narrative texts, and is explored here through an exemplar from **Holly**. **Holly’s** narrative account contained a detailed and lengthy narration of her experiences of seeking promotion, and an excerpt is explored to highlight how resistance and counter-resistance can be interpreted through disabled academics’ narrative accounts.

As Holly explained

Their perspective on me was totally different to my perspective on myself and my own career. I went to my head of section twice, he did my appraisal...and I said 'the university should have a disability policy on promotions' and he said 'but they don't...' he said 'but you haven't produced anything...therefore you have to go like everybody else, but you've had two years off sick and it will look dreadful'...he said 'no, but we can't take that into account, so it will look bad, so we're not going to put you in for it, we won't support you for promotion'.

Here Holly can be understood to be drawing upon the social interpretation and reverse legislative discourses in arguing that this is a university issue, and suggesting the university promotions process should include consideration of impairment effects which would enable disabled academics to compete when their publication track record includes an impairment related gap. As Holly outlined, a social interpretation might suggest this could be addressed, for example, by amending the university promotions policy to reflect external criteria developed for the RAE (HEFCE, 2005a/b), and acknowledge impairment effects related gaps, accepting a reduced volume of publications, by drawing upon a positive interpretation of the equalities basis of the DDA legislative framework and addressing this as a reasonable adjustment. The individual interpretation can be argued to legitimate a response which emphasizes disability and impairment effects as a 'lack' on the part of the disabled academic and as legitimizing non-disability as normality (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; French, 2001; Hughes, 1999, 2002, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990; 2009 Swain et al., 2003), and the premise upon which the promotion practices and the organizing principles upon which the promotions policy and processes should draw. This emphasis upon disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing as other than normality is similarly reflected in the legislative discourse (Corker, 2000; Roulstone, 2003; Woodhams and Corby, 2003; Foster, 2007).

Whilst Holly is interpreted as resisting (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007; Thomas and Davies, 2005) the individual interpretation discourse by drawing upon the social interpretation discourse, her resistance is countered (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009) through her head of section drawing upon the individual interpretation of disability to refute and effectively neutralize (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009) Holly's alternative claims. It is suggested here that the head of section does so as he legitimately sees the organizational position as one where an impairment effects related gap in publishing would not be accepted, would be perceived negatively, and as an individual limitation, or failure to meet normative expectations, on Holly's part.

It is interpreted that the head of section may well be drawing on the individual interpretation discourse and thinking contextually (Woodhams and Corby, 2003) taking into account the wider university and sector perceptions of publishing rates, and the need for academic staff to match these. Despite recent changes such as the RAE (HEFCE, 2005a/b) developments, this is a testament to the strength of the individual discourse and the suggestion that a reverse reading of the legislative discourse has not penetrated organizing processes and practices.

Dominant discourses may persuade people to “think and act” in particular ways (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1261), establish truth effects (Carabine, 2001; Hall, 2001) which construct particular versions of what is recognized as legitimate and what is considered normative in ways which invalidate alternative accounts (Carabine, 2001). The individual and legislative discourses, in reproducing non disability as normative (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; French, 2001; Hughes, 1999, 2002, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990; 2009 Swain et al., 2003), are argued to maintain ableism as an organizing norm.

Ableism is suggested to contribute to the legitimacy (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) of disabled academics’ impairment effects related organizing requirements and career and organizing claims being resisted, particularly where this requires changing normative expectations of how academic careers are organized or an acceptance and management of different or additional processes or practices.

It is suggested that disabled academics’ attempts to discursively construct their place (Mumby and Claire, 1997) through the social interpretation and reverse reading of the legislative discourses, by raising their voices within their career and organizing contexts in ways which accommodated their impairment effects ways of organizing were countered through the truth effects (Carabine, 2001; Hall, 2001) of the dominant discourses of an individual interpretation of disability and the legislative discourses, silent and silencing responses from other organizational members. These are suggested to be dominant discourses which support ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) and non-disability as an organizing principle in ways which marginalize and position disability and impairment effects as outside of the normative assumptions which inform organizing processes and practices in disabled academics’ career contexts.

The resistance of disabled academics by drawing upon discourses of voice, visibility, social interpretation of disability and a reverse reading of the legislative discourses contribute to the contestation of assumptions of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994), which are argued to privilege non-disability as an organizing principle. However, these discursive resistances are countered (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2009) through organizational members drawing on the individual interpretation and legislative discourses, and disability as different to normative expectations which are argued to be dominant discourses drawn upon in response to disabled academics career claims.

6.7 Chapter discussion

Drawing upon the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007), this chapter has explored and interpreted some of the discourses drawn upon in the narrative accounts of disabled academics in this study to address the aim of this chapter to theorize how and why disability and impairment effects ways of organizing were discursively constructed as differences, arguing this is through assumed ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994).

The voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) has supported this theorization by offering an approach to interpreting the work discourses do to construct what is considered appropriate and legitimate (Carabine, 2001) ways of organizing within disabled academics' career contexts, and how this contributes to how disabled academics' requirements are positioned as negated differences (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999).

The interpretations outlined in this chapter argue that the individual interpretation and legislative discourses are some of the dominant disability related discourses (Corker, 2000; Oliver 1983, 1990) in disabled academics' career contexts. It is suggested that these discourses conceptualize and position disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing as emerging from differences due to individual problems of biological or functional limitations (Oliver, 1983, 1990) rather than as emerging from the social organization (Hughes, 2002) of academic work which excludes disabled academics' organizing requirements, which require a legitimating (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Overboe, 1999) social response (Thomas, 2007).

These discourses are argued to contribute to disability being perceived and positioned as negated difference (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999) which contributes to the exclusion of disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing and disabled academics' marginalization within their career contexts.

Discourses of voice, visibility, social interpretation of disability and the reverse (Weedon, 1997) interpretation of the legislative discourse are identified as enabling disabled academics to resist such marginalization through "constant process[es] of adaptation, subversion and reinscription of [such] dominant discourses" (Thomas and Davies, 2005:687). It is through such resistance that the social interpretation and reverse (Weedon, 1997) reading of the legislative discourse and voice are argued to support the naming of a normative order of ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) through supporting disabled academics' critique which makes visible (Hughes, 1999; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007; Weedon, 1997) those organizing principles which contribute to the exclusion of their requirements.

That is, by engaging with resistant (Thomas and Davies, 2005; Weedon, 1997) alternative discourses it is argued it is possible to challenge and contest the transparency (invisibility) of normative assumptions (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) within disabled academics' career contexts as premised upon ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994). This is possible by drawing upon a discourse of voice, refuting disability as negated difference, and through engaging with a social interpretation and reverse reading of legislative discourses which contribute to making opaque (visible) (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) the ways in which disabled academics' requirements are positioned as discursively constructed differences to those requirements anticipated and associated with the universalized and generalized norms (Hughes, 1999; Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007; Weedon, 1997) within their career contexts, and making a difference in constructing the marginal "place[s]/space[s]" (Mumby and Clair, 1997:189) available to disabled academics in their career contexts.

Table 6.1 draws together these interpretations through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007), highlighting the work the discourses interpreted in this chapter do to maintain or resist ableism as a normative expectation in disabled academics' career contexts, and which contribute to shaping disabled academics' career experiences.

	Voice	Visibility
<p>Surface conceptualization</p> <p>Enables the different experiences and requirements of social groups to be voiced</p>	<p>Concern for absence and neglect of voice</p> <p>Emphasis on giving voice to difference and to experiences</p> <p>Voice is recognized as drawing attention to marginalized voices and experiences, problematic areas of experience to redress absence and neglect</p>	<p>Concern for states of exclusion and difference</p> <p>Visibility as difference</p> <p>Invisibility associated with the power of the majority</p>
<p>Deep conceptualization</p> <p>Explores the work discourses do to shape organizing norms, including attention to resistance and counter resistances</p>	<p>Processes of silencing through discourses</p> <p>Focus on the power of silence and silence as an agent of power. Alternatively silence through din</p> <p>Focus on how hegemonic discourses maintain normative position through silence</p> <p>Individual interpretation and legislative discourses seek to maintain disability and impairment effects as essentialized characteristics of individuals</p> <p>Social interpretation discourse raising disabled academics voices and the legitimacy of different/alternative requirements</p> <p>Individual interpretation and legislative discourses drawn upon to silence the alternative meanings and interpretations emerging from social interpretation and reverse legislative discourses informed critiques</p> <p>Silent (including din) responses to requests for different organizing requirements and being silenced through exclusion</p>	<p>Processes of maintaining power through (in)visibility of the norm (strong presence)</p> <p>(In)visibility through association with the norm</p> <p>Contestations over the normative state and demands for visibility</p> <p>Focus on disembodied normativity</p> <p>Disability as difference maintained through individual interpretation and legislative discourses</p> <p>Voice challenges the individual interpretation and legislative discourse yet also contributes to surfacing the visibility of disability as negated difference</p> <p>Individual interpretation and legislative discourses maintain ableism as normative organizing expectation</p> <p>Resistance through social interpretation and reverse legislative discourses and voice contributing to opacity of individual interpretation discourse and ableism</p> <p>Ableism as transparent disembodied normativity constructs disability, impairment effects and disabled academics' organizing requirements as difference</p>

Table 6.1 Discourses interpreted through the voice and visibility framework (adapted from Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). Original voice and visibility framework in greyscale.

In identifying some of the discourses which contribute to shaping the career experiences of disabled academics, and which contribute to the marginalization of disabled academics' organizing requirements, this chapter further contributes to the hyper-complexity of the organizing context identified and outlined in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five suggests the complexities experienced by disabled academics as they negotiate their organizing contexts have implications for how manager-academics manage and manager-academics and academic peers work in ways which contribute to developing inclusive relationships with disabled academics. As Chouinard (1999) argues it is necessary for disabled academics to engage with academic peers to develop inclusive relationships which enable their careers. The interpretations outlined in this chapter suggest the discourses drawn upon by disabled academics and those they are in relationship with (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) impact upon perceptions of, and have implications for, how disabled academics "place/space" are discursively constructed (Mumby and Clair, 1997:198). This has consequences for what are considered appropriate and legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998) ways of organizing academic work, and which have limiting and marginalizing consequences for disabled academics' careers through assumed ableism.

Chapter Five highlighted the centrality of relationships and reciprocity in developing disabled academics' careers, and surfaced some relationships which contributed to disabled academics' marginalization within their career contexts as their organizing requirements were perceived as outside of normative expectations. The insights developed in Chapter Six have outlined some of the discourses which may contribute to the perception of disabled academics organizing requirements in this way, an awareness of which could inform generative conversations (Winter, 2009) as a step towards enabling manager-academics and academic peers to appreciate how the discourses they drawn upon to interpret disabled academics' organizing requirements may contribute to these being perceived as outside normative expectations, the career boundaries disabled academics experience, and their subsequent marginalization.

The discourses are added to the thesis framework in Figure 6.1, building upon the disability studies lens, and further strengthens the suggestion of a hyper-complexity in the HE context when disability and ableism are drawn upon, strengthening the argument of the thesis that they are productive categories for analysis in studies of organization.

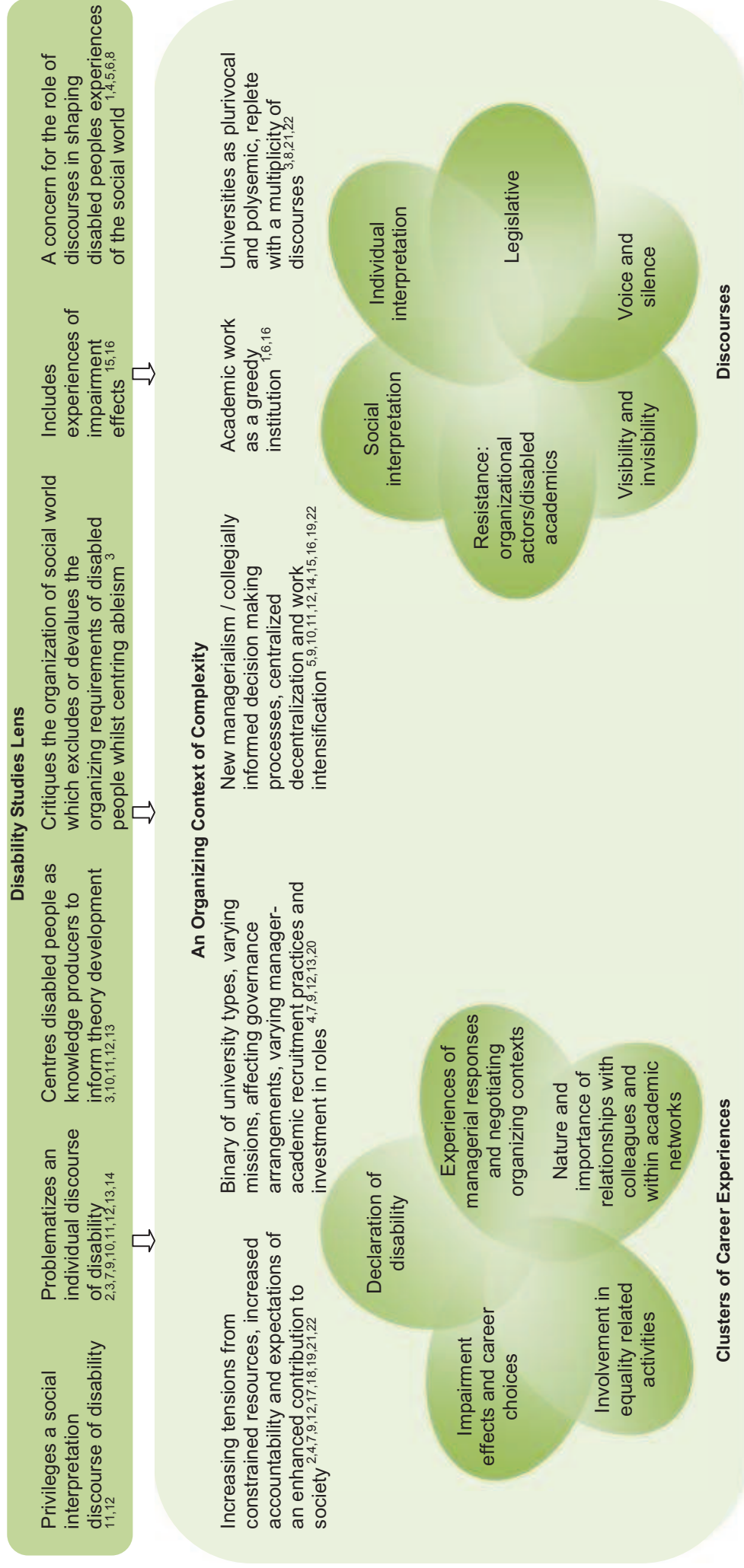


Figure 6.1 Thesis framework building upon the disability studies lens - Drawing upon: Abberley (2002)¹, Campbell (2005², 2009b³), Corker (1998⁴, 1999a⁵, b⁶), French (2001)⁷, Goodley (2004)⁸, Hughes (2002⁹, 2007¹⁰), Oliver (1983¹¹, 1990¹², 1996¹³), Swain et al (2003)¹⁴, Thomas (1999¹⁵, 2007¹⁶). Organizing context of complexity drawing upon: Acker (1983)¹, Barratt and Barratt (2007)², Becher and Trowler (2001)³, Burgoyne et al (2009)⁴, Chandler et al (2002)⁵, Currie et al (2000)⁶, Deem (1998⁷, 2001⁸, 2004⁹, 2005¹⁰), Deem et al (2005)¹¹, Deem et al (2007)¹², Hall (2003)¹³, Hellawell and Hancock (2001)¹⁴, Hoggett (1991)¹⁵, Kinman and Jones (2004)¹⁶, Knight and Trowler (2001)¹⁷; Mercer (2009)¹⁸, Parry (2001)¹⁹, Silver (1990)²⁰, Trowler (2001)²¹, Winter (2009)²²

6.8 Chapter summary

Contributing to answering the research question “What can disabled academics’ career experiences offer to studies of organization”, this chapter has outlined some of the discourses within disabled academics’ narrative accounts, synthesizing these through the disability studies lens and some of the extant literature explored in Chapters Two, Three and Four, through the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). The voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) has contributed to the analysis presented which considers the work discourses do in maintaining organizing norms which privilege ableism over impairment effects related ways of organizing. The chapter suggests the individual interpretation, legislative and resistance discourses contribute to shaping of disabled academics’ careers and their career requirements being perceived as differences which exceed the organizing norms of their career contexts. The voice, visibility, social interpretation, reverse legislative and resistance discourses are argued to contribute to disabled academics’ contestation of their organizing requirements exceeding their career context organizing processes and practices.

Chapter Seven – Conclusion and reflexivity

7.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the central argument of this thesis by reflecting upon the achievement of the research objectives to surface the theoretical and empirical contributions of this thesis to answer the overarching research question “What can disabled academics’ career experiences offer to studies of organization?” The chapter reflects upon each research objective in turn, outlining original theoretical and empirical contributions to knowledge. Further to the reflexive insights included in Chapter One and Chapter Four, the chapter then outlines the criteria suggested to assess the trustworthiness and ethical considerations of the research and how these have been met. The chapter then considers potential limitations of the thesis before outlining future research projects.

To answer the research question:

- What can disabled academics’ career experiences offer to studies of organization?

This chapter addresses the research objective:

- Through the development of the thesis, to provide original theoretical and empirical contributions to organization studies

7.2 Review of the central argument and insights of the thesis, research objectives and contributions of this thesis

This thesis set out to contribute to organization studies through the study of disabled academics’ career experiences. To evaluate the contribution of the thesis to this aim, this section of the chapter will now summarize the achievement of each of the research objectives in turn.

7.2.1 Disability studies lens

The first research objective of the thesis aimed to develop a disability studies theoretical lens:

- To develop a disability studies theoretical lens incorporating disability, ableism and impairment effects through which disabled academics' career experiences can be interpreted and which contributes new insights to organization studies

A disability studies lens was developed, which departed from the dominant social model framework within disability studies whilst maintaining a social interpretation of disability, and centring of disabled people as knowledge producers (Campbell, 2009b; Hughes, 2007; Oliver, 1983, 1990, 1996; Thomas, 2007). The disability studies lens developed for organization studies is distinct in incorporating aspects of recent paradigmatic divergence within the field (Gabel and Peters, 2004; Goodley and Lawthom, 2005; Meekosha, 2004; Shakespeare, 2006). In particular, a concern for ableism, the assumption of non-disability as a normative expectation (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Morris, 1993a; Shakespeare, 1994) in organizing contexts, and to account for how wider social discourses (Corker, 1999a/b) as discursive resources (Kuhn, 2006) contribute to shaping disabled academics' experiences.

To this the disability studies lens took forward a concern for experiences of impairment and impairment effects. Whilst Thomas' (1999, 2007) impairment effects concept was underpinned by a materialist understanding which emphasized disablism, the concept was extended into the disability studies lens social interpretation as a concern for how disabled academics account for the effects of impairment within their career experiences, and what disabled academics require and expect of the organizing contexts they experience, and how this contributes to their career experiences. Therefore:

This research offers to organization studies a disability studies lens which maintains a social interpretation of disability incorporating a concern for disabled people as knowledge producers, the organizing requirements of disabled people, ableism, impairment effects, and discourse (Figure 7.1).

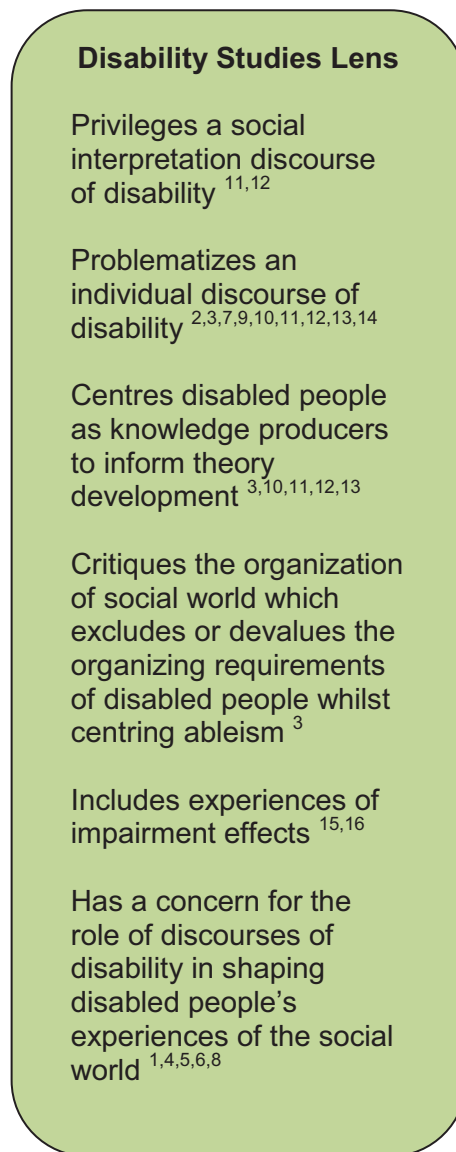


Figure 7.1 Disability studies lens developed for this thesis,
Drawing upon: Abberley (2002)¹; Campbell (2005², 2009b³); Corker (1998⁴, 1999a⁵, b⁶); French (2001)⁷; Goodley (2004)⁸; Hughes (2002⁹, 2007¹⁰); Oliver (1983¹¹, 1990¹², 1996¹³); Swain et al. (2003)¹⁴; Thomas (1999¹⁵, 2007¹⁶)

As part of the disability studies lens development, the wider disability studies literature was drawn upon to explore disability and work, declaration of disability and in/visibility of impairment effects debates, and the legislative framework on disability and involvement.

The disability studies lens formed the first part of the theoretical framework for this thesis, which was built upon, and fused with, disability studies, organization, and boundaryless and career studies literatures to develop the theoretical framework of the thesis. The productive (Alvesson et al., 2008b) contribution of the disability studies lens is returned to in Sections 7.2.4 and 7.2.5 as it is through these objectives that the disability studies lens, as one way of developing disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis in organization studies (Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Harlan and Robert, 1998) through the interpretation and theorization of disabled academics' career experiences, contributes to answering the thesis overarching research question.

7.2.2 Fusing the disability studies lens with organization and career studies

The second research objective of this thesis sought to:

- Fuse the disability studies theoretical lens, organization and career studies literatures through which disabled academics' career experiences can be theorized

7.2.2.1 Fusing the disability studies lens with organization studies

The extensive organization studies literature review for this thesis highlighted the field was contested (Reed, 1993) and rhizomatic (Jackson and Carter, 2007) through the development of multiple approaches adopting a wide range of meta-theoretical, theoretical and foci of analysis (Tsoukas and Knudsen, 2003), an overview of which is provided in Table 7.1.

Organization studies meta-theoretical traditions	Theoretical concern	Potential organizational phenomena of interest
Modernist (including classical organization theory)	Organization Theory General principles ^{12,14} Organizational structural and bureaucratic design ^{4,14} Rationality, order and stability ^{6,10} Scientific approaches to management ¹⁴ Management control of organizations ¹³ Organization as a system ⁵	Efficiency of work Structuring of work Role of manager in controlling the organization of work
Neo-modernist (e.g. Human relations)	Organization Behaviour ^{9,14} Development of the organization ¹ Understanding human communication and motivation to improve organizational effectiveness ⁹ Organizational behaviour focused upon organizational improvement and management ⁸ Continued importance of management ⁹	↑ Organizational design Organizational development Culture and culture change Leadership, motivation
Neo-modernist (new wave management)	Organizational culture as a management control mechanism ⁹	↓ Speech acts, communication, management exercise of power
Neo-modernist reflexive (e.g. democratic organization connecting with critical theory and psychoanalysis)	Developing organizations to achieve emotional and intellectual fulfilment of all members ^{1,9} Improved management of organizations for all members ^{1,6,11} Centrality of management focus ^{7,15} Organization as a construction ¹⁴	Management discourse and practices Performativity across a range of topics; e.g. gender, leadership, project management How the unconscious and neurosis influence organizational life
Reflective	How shared understandings of organizational life are constructed ⁹ Management ability to identify toxic aspects of organizational life ⁹ Organizational members development of their understanding of organizational life, and how they make sense of the organizational world ¹⁵ Organization as an accomplishment ^{14,15}	Symbols, metaphors, stories, emotions and values, myths, sagas, identity construction Discourse, language and language in use
Postmodern	Anti-foundationalist ¹⁵ Plurivocality, multiplicity, variation and deconstruction ⁹ Critiques how knowledge is constructed and constitutes social relations-epistemological project ² Small narratives rather than grand theories ² Processual understanding; organizing rather than organization ³	Centrality of discourses at play in organizations, language used and how and what of which organizational members speak Silences in organization studies and silenced members of organizations

Table 7.1 Overview of the organization studies field:

Drawing upon; Alvesson and Deetz (2006)¹; Calás and Smircich (1999/2006)²; Chia (1995)³; Clegg (2007)⁴; Clegg and Hardy (1996)⁵; Clegg et al. (2006)⁶; Ferguson (1994)⁷; Jackson and Carter (2007)⁸; McAuley et al. (2007)⁹; Putnam et al. (1996)¹⁰; Spicer et al. (2009)¹¹; Tsoukas and Knudsen (2003)¹²; Üsdiken (2008)¹³; Üsdiken and Leblebici (2001)¹⁴; Westwood and Clegg (2003)¹⁵; Willmott (1995)¹⁶

Within this diverse field, the disability studies lens was fused with an epistemological project in organization studies which drew attention to, and had a concern for, organizational members who may experience marginalization within their organizing contexts and/or lack theoretical voices within organization studies (Calás and Smircich, 1999, 2006; Ferguson, 1994).

Despite a wider understanding that other academic disciplines or fields (Zahra and Newey, 2009), and the epistemological project's engagement with wider social and political theories (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994) could contribute to developing organization studies, the literature review identified that research engaging with the epistemological project in organization studies had not addressed disability or ableism (Hearn and Parkin, 1993; Mumby, 2008; Harlan and Robert, 1998) or drawn upon disability studies literature. This offered an opportunity to make a theoretical contribution to the field, by fusing the disability studies lens and epistemological project concern to critique the construction of knowledge and what "appear[s] as normal, natural... 'just the way things are'" (Ferguson, 1994:84) by making visible the social reality (Boeije, 2010) of disabled academics through the study of their career experiences. This fused focus provided the first part of the theoretical framework through which disability and ableism could be developed as productive categories for analysis within organization studies. Therefore:

The research offers the fusion of the disability studies lens and the epistemological project in organization studies to surface and explore disability and ableism as productive categories of analysis in organization studies.

Fusing the two literatures and questioning knowledge production (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994) on disability (Oliver, 1990) by centring both disability and disabled academics' experiences rather than being marginal to empirical or theoretical research (Oliver, 1990) contributes to an inter-disciplinary (Calás and Smircich, 1999, 2006; Ferguson, 1994; Zahra and Newey, 2009) approach which reduces disability and disabled academics' theoretical invisibility (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Ferguson, 1994; Gherardi, 2003; Oliver, 1990) within organization studies.

7.2.2.2 Fusing the disability studies lens, disability studies, boundaryless and academic career literatures

Theoretical interest in developing the disability studies lens in organization studies was explicated through career studies. The literature review of career studies through the disability studies lens directed attention (Deetz, 1992) to a limited empirical and theoretical engagement with disability, ableism and disabled academics' career experiences within the boundaryless and academic career literatures. This was despite calls for inter-disciplinary research "to hear other voices with something to say about contemporary career phenomena" (Arthur, 2008:165), and for career studies to become more inclusive of different social groups' experiences (Marshall, 1989; Mavin, 2001; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Sullivan, 1999). In response to these gaps in career studies, the thesis drew upon the disability studies literature explored as part of the disability studies lens, fusing this with the boundaryless and academic career literatures as an approach to researching disabled academics within their career contexts. This contributed to the theoretical framework of the thesis, enabled in-depth insights into disabled academics' career experiences, and supported the interpretation of disabled academics' *different* career boundaries to those recognized within the boundaryless and academic career literatures, the achievement of which is reviewed in Section 7.2.4 below. Fusing the disability studies lens, disability studies literature and the boundaryless and academic careers literature further strengthens the inter-disciplinary approach of this research (Arthur, 2008; Sullivan, 1999). Therefore:

This research offers the fusion of the disability studies lens and literature with the boundaryless and academic career literatures to explicate the disability studies lens in organization studies.

7.2.3 Methodological design to centre disabled academic voices

The third thesis research objective aimed to:

- Develop a methodology and appropriate methods which place disabled academics 'centre stage' and support an in-depth exploration of disabled academics' career and organizing experiences

The philosophical orientation of the thesis was developed to encompass a constructionist, processual, relational understanding of the social world (Burr, 2003; Chia, 1995; Crotty, 1998; Hosking, 1999; Watson, 2001).

This centred an understanding of how people have different projects and the importance of acknowledging such differences between people's projects *within* their organizing (career) contexts (Hosking and Morley, 1991). This approach recognized social categories and norms as constructed divisions open to critique (Burr, 2003). This understanding acknowledges organizing contexts as plurivocal and polysemic, constructed through many voices and multiple meanings (Currie and Brown, 2003), and processes of relating as "power infused" in which some people and not others are privileged (Cunliffe, 2008:128) appreciating the work wider social discourses do to shape experience (Carabine, 2001; Chase, 1995; Hosking, 1999).

Consonant with the philosophical orientation adopted, a narrative inquiry was developed, centring and amplifying (Riessman, 2008) the voices of disabled academics to provide in-depth (re)interpretations of their experiences. Drawing upon Saukko (2000:300) the methodological emphasis of the thesis acknowledged disabled academics as "double-edged", capable of constructing through narrative and constructed through discourse (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997; Saukko, 2000). Fusing the VCRM (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) and a genealogical "snapshot" (Carabine, 2001:280) approach to interpreting disabled academics' narrative accounts supported this understanding. The discourses identified as resonating across disabled academics' accounts (Saukko, 2000) and shaping disabled academics' career experiences, were then interpreted through Simpson and Lewis's (2005, 2007) voice and visibility framework which enabled a theorization of how discourses contributed to what is considered appropriate and legitimate (Carabine, 2001), or negated (Corker, 1998; Hughes, 1999, 2007; Overboe, 1999) ways of organizing in disabled academics career contexts. Therefore:

This thesis offers a distinctive methodological contribution in fusing the VCRM, genealogical snapshot and voice and visibility framework as an approach which places research participants centre stage, supporting a concern for voice, narrative and discourse and enabling in-depth explorations of experience and organizing processes.

How this methodological orientation has contributed to the original empirical and theoretical contributions of the thesis is outlined in Sections 7.2.4 and 7.2.5.

7.2.4 Disabled academics' career experiences

The exploration of disabled academics career narratives in Chapter Five addressed two research objectives:

- To offer in-depth interpretations of disabled academics' career and organizing experiences, identifying both similarities and differences in and between these experiences
- To identify insights from the empirical study of disabled academics' career experiences which contribute to the understanding of disabled academics' career boundaries

Chapter Five outlined detailed interpretations of eight disabled academic participants' narrative accounts. Drawing upon the concept of a "quilting" textual practice (Saukko, 2000:299), the chapter was constructed as clusters of experiences to support an understanding of organizing contexts as plurivocal, and polysemic (Currie and Brown, 2003), highlighting no single authoritative account of career, and accounting for both similarities and differences in experiences between participants. This produced a text inviting readers to appreciate the resonances which unite participants' narratives, yet also highlighted the different ways in which participants interpreted, made sense of, and (re)presented their career experiences, as the first part of the methodological orientation of this thesis which argued we both construct through narrative and are constructed through discourse (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997; Saukko, 2000). Therefore:

This research offers clusters as an approach to presenting narrative accounts of experiences which surfaces plurivocality and polysemy.

In offering in-depth interpretations of disabled academics' career experiences through a fusion of the disability studies, boundaryless and academic career literatures, this thesis makes an original empirical and theoretical contribution to career studies. Empirically, the thesis responds to the invitation to increase the diversity of those studied through the boundaryless career (Dany et al., 2003; Pringle and Mallon, 2003), particularly those whose voices have not hitherto been heard (Pringle and Mallon, 2003), by focusing upon disabled academics, whose career experiences are under-researched and under-theorized within the already limited literatures (Ashcraft, 2008) of the boundaryless and academic career.

Therefore:

By providing in-depth interpretations of disabled academics' career experiences, previously under-researched, this research makes an original empirical contribution to the boundaryless and academic career literatures.

Fusing insights from the disability studies lens, and disability studies, boundaryless and academic career literatures, brought together a social interpretation of disability, recognition of career boundaries as constructed through the interplay of the expectations and perspectives of both the careerist and their interlocutors (Gunz et al., 2000; Gunz et al., 2007), and the characteristics of academic careers (Baruch and Hall, 2004b). Through this fusion of literatures, and the methodological orientation of this thesis, identified new insights into some of the career boundaries experienced by disabled academics as an original contribution to the boundaryless and academic career literatures. Clusters of career boundaries identified were:

- Impairment effects and career choices;
- Declaration of disability and the in/visibility of impairment effects;
- Experiences of negotiating organizing contexts and managerial responses;
- Involvement in equality related activities;
- Nature and importance of relationships with colleagues and within academic networks.

Theorized through the disability studies lens and fused literatures, these clusters of experiences around career boundaries highlighted disability and impairment effects as important to organizing processes in disabled academics' careers. Disabled academics' different organizing requirements were theorized to be differences making a difference (Mumby and Clair, 1997), and as differences that exceeded organizing expectations, which had consequences (Campbell, 2009b) for the social relations and social reality of disabled academics in their career contexts. Therefore:

This thesis makes distinct empirical and theoretical contributions through a disability studies lens and the fused disability studies, boundaryless and academic career literatures, by identifying disability and impairment effects as relevant to the different organizing requirements of disabled academics, and identifying different career boundaries to those currently understood within the boundaryless and academic career literatures.

In identifying the different organizing requirements of disabled academics, the complexities of negotiating the HE context were highlighted for disabled academics, and for manager-academics and academic peers, who were acknowledged as important in the facilitation of disabled academics' careers.

This thesis argued that whilst the HE organizing context is acknowledged to be complex, addressing the different organizing requirements of disabled academics within this already complex context constructs a hyper-complexity for disabled academics, manager-academics and academic peers to negotiate when seeking to develop more inclusive career contexts for disabled academics, which is not acknowledged in the HE context or academic career literatures. Therefore:

This research makes a unique contribution to the academic career literature by surfacing the hyper-complexity of negotiating and developing inclusive career contexts for disabled academics, manager-academics and academic colleagues.

The career boundaries developed through the disability studies lens and fused literatures within the hyper-complex context of HE is shown in Figure 7.2 below.

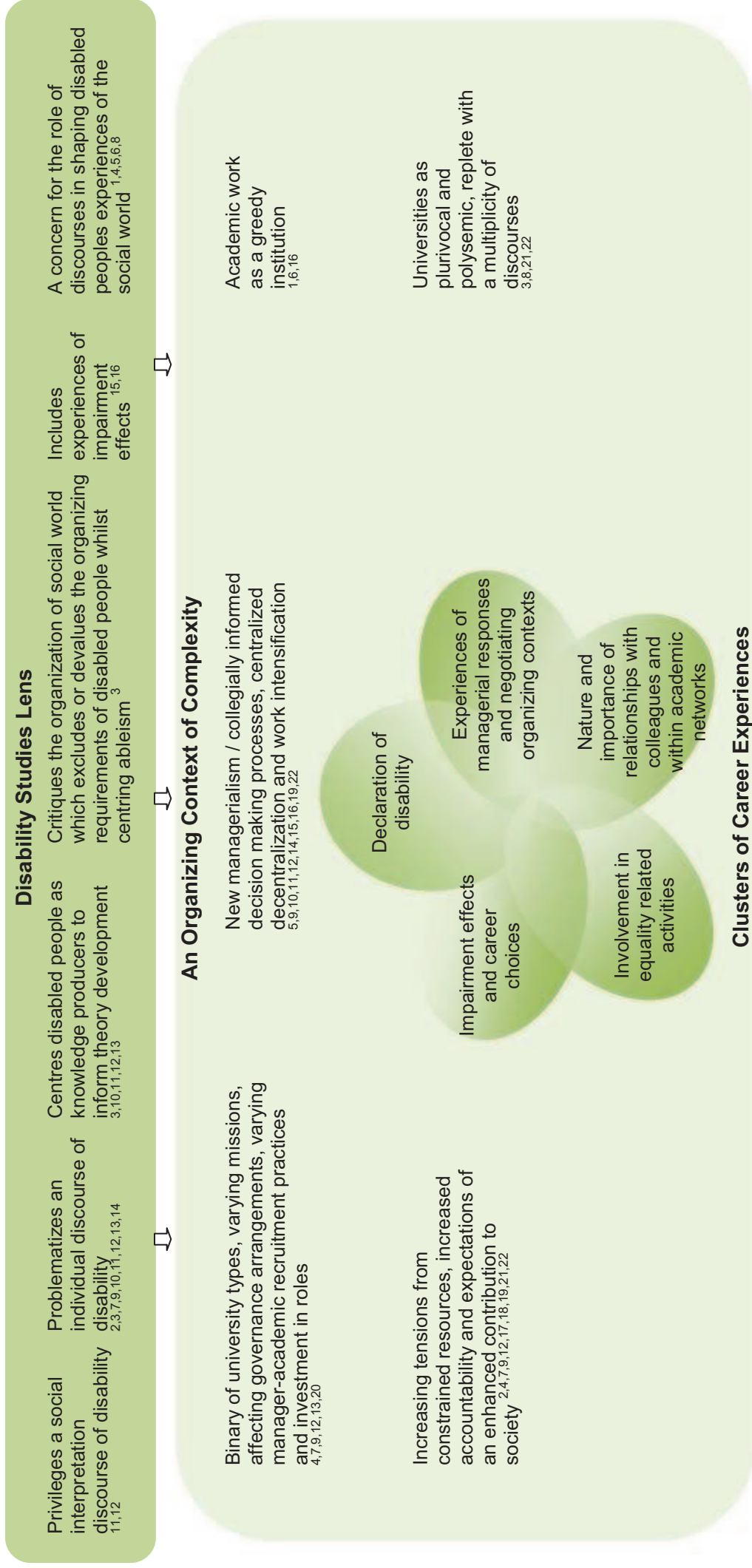


Figure 7.2 Thesis framework building upon the disability studies lens –

Drawing upon: Abberley (2002)¹, Campbell (2005², 2009b³), Corker (1998⁴, 1999a⁵, b⁶), French (2001)⁷, Goodley (2004)⁸, Hughes (2002⁹, 2007¹⁰), Oliver (1983¹¹, 1990¹², 1996¹³), Swain et al (2003)¹⁴, Thomas (1999¹⁵, 2007¹⁶). Organizing context of complexity drawing upon: Acker (1983)¹; Barratt and Barratt (2007)²; Becher and Trowler (2001)³; Burgoyne et al (2009)⁴; Chandler et al (2002)⁵; Currie et al (2000)⁶; Deem (1998⁷, 2001⁸, 2004⁹, 2005¹⁰); Deem et al (2007)¹²; Hall (2003)¹³; Hellawell and Hancock (2001)¹⁴; Hoggett (1991)¹⁵; Kinman and Jones (2004)¹⁶; Knight and Trowler (2001)¹⁷; Mercer (2009)¹⁸; Parry (2001)¹⁹; Silver (1990)²⁰; Trowler (2001)²¹; Winter (2009)²²

Chapter Five argued that as disabled academics narrated their career and organizing experiences, discourses relating to a concern for how they were being assessed against normative expectations of non-disability (ableism), a desire to be heard, raising their voice or silencing themselves by negating impairment effects related organizing requirements, and at times being silenced, were surfaced as contributing to shaping their career experiences. These discourses were taken forward into Chapter Six to explore the work discourses do to shape disabled academics' career experiences and organizing norms, reviewed in Section 7.2.5.

7.2.5 Discourses contributing to disabled academics' career and organizing experiences

The research objective explored through Chapter Six aimed:

- To identify some of the discourses, and discursive resources drawn upon, within disabled academics' career contexts, and interpret the work these discourses do to shape disabled academics' career and organizing experiences

Setting out to interpret the work discourses do to shape disabled academics' career experiences and the perception of disabled academics' requirements as different to and exceeding normative expectations, the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) was drawn upon. Whilst the voice and visibility framework (Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007) was developed to theorize the gender and organization studies literatures, it was outlined as a "foundation for further theoretical and empirical work" (Simpson and Lewis, 2005:1255). This thesis took up this invitation, "operationaliz[ing]" (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:80) the framework as a theoretical frame and sensitizing "interpretive" device (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:9) for discourses shaping disabled academics' career experiences. This approach met the second part of the methodological orientation of this thesis which argued people both construct through narrative and are constructed through discourse (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997; Saukko, 2000). Therefore:

This research offers an approach to operationalizing the voice and visibility framework as an interpretive device to theorize discourses shaping research participants' interview accounts.

The adapted voice and visibility framework is represented in Table 7.2 below.

	Voice	Visibility
<p>Surface conceptualization</p> <p>Enables the different experiences and requirements of social groups to be voiced</p>	<p>Explores the “different states of absence and neglect that accompany certain groups” (2005:1256)</p> <p>Concern for absence and neglect of voice</p> <p>Emphasis on giving voice to difference and to experiences</p> <p>Voice is recognized as drawing attention to marginalized voices and experiences, problematic areas of experience to redress absence and neglect</p>	<p>Explores how different groups are “isolated and marginalized from the dominant group” through their visibility as different (2005:1258)</p> <p>Concern for states of exclusion and difference</p> <p>Visibility as difference</p> <p>Invisibility associated with the power of the majority</p>
<p>Deep conceptualization</p> <p>Explores the work discourses do to shape organizing norms, including attention to resistance and counter resistances</p>	<p>Explores how discourses silence through dominant discourses which “suppress and silence other contradictory or competing meanings” (2005:1261)</p> <p>Processes of silencing through discourses</p> <p>Focus on the power of silence and silence as an agent of power. Alternatively silence through din</p> <p>Focus on how hegemonic discourses maintain normative position through silence</p>	<p>Explores how discourse “constitutes on-going production of normalcy” and the (in)visibility and transparency of norms maintain the “normative standard case” (2005:1263)</p> <p>Processes of maintaining power through (in)visibility of the norm (strong presence)</p> <p>(In)visibility through association with the norm</p> <p>Contestations over the normative state and demands for visibility</p> <p>Focus on disembodied normativity</p>

Table 7.2 Voice and visibility framework adapted for this thesis. Adapted from Simpson and Lewis (2005, 2007)

The adapted voice and visibility framework, disability studies lens and fused literatures enabled Chapter Six to offer interpretations of the discourses drawn upon and which informed disabled academics' narrative accounts of career and perceptions of and responses to disabled academics' organizing requirements, re-presented in Table 7.3.

Discourses	Work discourses do to shape disabled academics' career experiences
Social interpretation discourse	<p>Constructs discursive space for disabled academic to;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise their voices and recognize, name and counter the individual discourse of disability • Critique organizing processes and practices orientated towards requirements of non-disabled people whilst marginalizing their own requirements, thus challenging the (in)visibility and opacity of ableism as a normative assumption • Legitimizes impairment effects related ways of organizing
Individual interpretation discourse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legitimizes non-disability as normative and organizing norm, and disability as impairment and essentialized characteristic • Disabled academics' impairment effects related ways of organizing are not legitimated, rather identified as different to, and therefore outside, anticipated organizing processes and practices premised upon non-disability (ableism) as an organizing principle
Legislative discourses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is a tool of critique and a discursive resource for disabled academics to request inclusive and challenge marginalizing organizing processes and practices • Is a source of constraint which reinforces disability as the inversion of normality therefore shoring up ableism as an organizing norm
Discourses of voice and silence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voice surfaced through the social interpretation and reverse reading of the legislative discourses for organizing requirements to be acknowledged and met • Voice heightens the visibility of disabled academics' different organizing requirements as legitimate • Individual interpretation and legislative discourses contribute to supporting silence, din of silence and noise or exclusion in response to disabled academics' voices
Discourses of visibility and in/(in)visibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visibility to support and socially codify legitimate different organizing requirements of disabled academics • However visibility of different organizing requirements to normative expectations paradoxically contributes to the visibility of their requirements perceived as negated differences to normative expectations of non-disability • Invisibility as a (self) silencing strategy for disabled academics to remain 'unmarked' through negating impairment effects related ways of organizing in career choices
Discourses of resistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (In)visibility of ableism as disembodied normativity constructs disability and impairment effects organizing requirements as difference • Disabled academics' resistance through social interpretation and reverse reading of legislative discourse makes opaque (in)visible normative assumptions of ableism • Disabled academics' resistance countered through truth effects of individual interpretation and legislative discourses as efforts to maintain ableism as organizing norm

Table 7.3 Work discourses do to shape disabled academics' career experiences

Through the interpretations of these discourses in disabled academics' narrative accounts this thesis theorized that disabled academics' organizing requirements were discursively constructed as negated differences through assumed ableism (Campbell, 2009b; Chouinard, 1997; Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hughes, 2007) as differences to normative expectations within disabled academics' organizing contexts, and "*differences from the majority group*" whose requirements were argued to inform the universalized, standardized and expected within organizing contexts (Simpson and Lewis, 2007:38 emphasis in original). Whilst Campbell (2009b) identifies little is known of how ableism is achieved, the discourses interpreted in this thesis contribute to understanding how ableism is discursively reproduced and maintained. Therefore:

This research makes an original theoretical contribution to organization studies by offering insights into some of the discourses which shape disabled academics' career experiences to understand how disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing are perceived as exceeding normative assumptions of ableism in disabled academics' career contexts.

The discourses interpreted and theorized through the voice and visibility framework are brought together through the voice and visibility framework in Table 7.4 below.

	Voice	Visibility
<p>Surface conceptualization</p> <p>Enables the different experiences and requirements of social groups to be voiced</p>	<p>Concern for absence and neglect of voice</p> <p>Emphasis on giving voice to difference and to experiences</p> <p>Voice is recognized as drawing attention to marginalized voices and experiences, problematic areas of experience to redress absence and neglect</p>	<p>Concern for states of exclusion and difference</p> <p>Visibility as difference</p> <p>Invisibility associated with the power of the majority</p>
<p>Deep conceptualization</p> <p>Explores the work discourses do to shape organizing norms, including attention to resistance and counter resistances</p>	<p>Processes of silencing through discourses</p> <p>Focus on the power of silence and silence as an agent of power. Alternatively silence through din</p> <p>Focus on how hegemonic discourses maintain normative position through silence</p> <p>Individual interpretation and legislative discourses seek to maintain disability and impairment effects as essentialized characteristics of individuals</p> <p>Social interpretation discourse raising disabled academics voices and the legitimacy of different/alternative requirements</p> <p>Individual interpretation and legislative discourses drawn upon to silence the alternative meanings and interpretations emerging from social interpretation and reverse legislative discourses informed critiques</p> <p>Silent (including din) responses to requests for different organizing requirements and being silenced through exclusion</p>	<p>Processes of maintaining power through (in)visibility of the norm (strong presence)</p> <p>(In)visibility through association with the norm</p> <p>Contestations over the normative state and demands for visibility</p> <p>Focus on disembodied normativity</p> <p>Disability as difference maintained through individual interpretation and legislative discourses</p> <p>Voice challenges the individual interpretation and legislative discourse yet also contributes to surfacing the visibility of disability as negated difference</p> <p>Individual interpretation and legislative discourses maintain ableism as normative organizing expectation</p> <p>Resistance through social interpretation and reverse legislative discourses and voice contributing to opacity of individual interpretation discourse and ableism</p> <p>Ableism as transparent disembodied normativity constructs disability, impairment effects and disabled academics' organizing requirements as difference</p>

Table 7.4 Discourses interpreted through the voice and visibility framework (adapted from Simpson and Lewis, 2005, 2007). Original voice and visibility framework in greyscale.

In identifying some of the discourses which contribute to shaping the career experiences of disabled academics, and which contribute to the marginalization of disabled academics' organizing requirements, Chapter Six further contributed to the hyper-complexity of the organizing context identified and outlined in Chapter Five. The interpretations outlined in Chapter Six suggested that the discourses drawn upon by disabled academics and those they are in relationship with (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) impact upon perceptions of, and have implications for, how disabled academics "place/space" are discursively constructed (Mumby and Clair, 1997:198) with consequences for what are considered appropriate and legitimate (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998) ways of organizing academic work, and which may have limiting and marginalizing consequences for disabled academics' careers.

Chapters Five and Six suggested raising awareness and understanding of the boundaries disabled academics experience within their organizing contexts to engage others (Chouinard, 1999) in ways which appreciate the difference disability and impairment effects makes to their career experiences. This was enabled through the constructionist, processual and relational (Burr, 2003; Chia, 1995; Crotty, 1998; Hosking, 1999; Watson, 2001) methodological framework of the thesis which emphasized the importance of acknowledging people's different projects, and these different projects within their (career) contexts (Hosking and Morley, 1991). This supported a recognition of the legitimacy (Deegan, 2000; Gray, 2009; Harlan and Robert, 1998) of disabled academics' organizing requirements, and the argument that such a recognition of these different organizing requirements required the engagement of academic-managers and peers to develop a collaborative, collective approach to constructing inclusive work contexts, for example through generative conversations (Winter, 2009). This was argued to require an awareness of the ways in which the discourses drawn upon contribute to the career boundaries disabled academics experienced as a step towards enabling manager-academics' and academic peers' appreciation of how the discourses they draw upon to interpret disabled academics' organizing requirements may contribute to these requirements being perceived as outside normative expectations. Such perceptions influence the career boundaries disabled academics experience, their subsequent marginalization and contributing to the hyper-complexity of the HE organizing context when disabled academics organizing requirements are considered. The discourses interpreted through Chapter Six are added to the thesis framework in Figure 7.3.

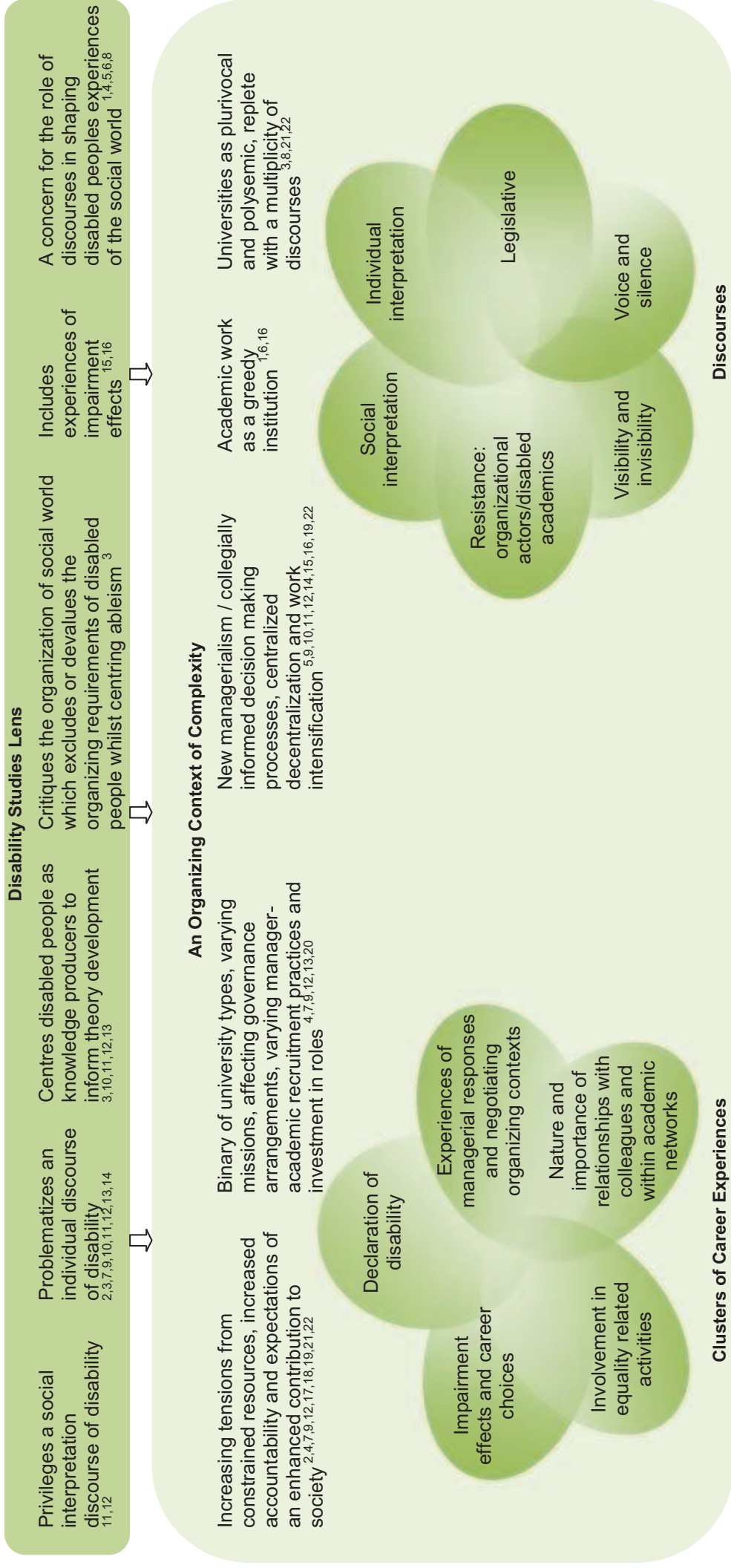


Figure 7.3 Thesis framework building upon the disability studies lens - Drawing upon: Abberley (2002)¹, Campbell (2005², 2009b³), Corker (1998⁴, 1999a⁵, b⁶), French (2001)⁷, Goodley (2004)⁸, Hughes (2002⁹, 2007¹⁰), Oliver (1983¹¹, 1990¹², 1996¹³), Swain et al (2003)¹⁴, Thomas (1999¹⁵, 2007¹⁶), Organizing context of complexity drawing upon: Acker (1983)¹; Barratt and Barratt (2007)²; Becher and Trowler (2001)³; Burgoyne et al (2009)⁴; Chandler et al (2002)⁵; Currie et al (2000)⁶; Deem (1998⁷, 2001⁸, 2004⁹, 2005¹⁰); Deem et al (2005)¹¹; Deem et al (2007)¹²; Hall (2003)¹³; Hellawell and Hancock (2001)¹⁴; Hoggett (1991)¹⁵; Kinman and Jones (2004)¹⁶; Knight and Trowler (2001)¹⁷; Mercer (2009)¹⁸; Parry (2001)¹⁹; Silver (1990)²⁰; Trowler (2001)²¹; Winter (2009)²²

The disability studies lens developed for this thesis informed the interpretations outlined in Chapters Five and Six which contributed to an appreciation of the salience of disability and ableism informing organizing processes and practices within disabled academics' career and organizing contexts. Whereas Acker (2006:445) suggests disability is not as "thoroughly embedded in organizing processes", through the exploration of the clusters of experiences and discourses drawn upon, this thesis offers insights which suggest that disability and ableism are thoroughly embedded in organizing processes, contributing to how people act and interact, and the relationships developed (Chia, 1995). This contributes to and supports the suggestion in Section 7.2.1 that the disability studies lens supports the development of disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis in organization studies (Harlan and Robert, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 1993) to contribute to organization studies by drawing upon the disability studies field to construct a different theoretical lens (Calás and Smircich, 1999; 2006; Davis, 2002; Deetz, 1992; Erevelles, 2005; Ferguson, 1994; Zahra and Newey, 2009). Therefore:

This thesis makes an original theoretical contribution by offering a disability studies lens as a theoretical lens through which disability and ableism are identified as productive categories for analysis in organization studies.

In offering the disability studies lens and disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis, other researchers can take these forward to research disabled people's experiences, or disability and ableism as part of the epistemological project, intersectional studies, or across the sub-fields in organization studies.

The chapter now turns to review the evaluative framework for this thesis.

7.3 Evaluative framework

Reflections on how the evaluative framework of trustworthiness criteria (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Guba and Lincoln, 1989) for this thesis is met are now outlined by providing an extended example of an action taken and a table overviewing additional actions for each of the trustworthiness criteria.

7.3.1 Credibility

The credibility of both the research process and findings (research participants' narratives and of the interpretations constructed from these) can be assessed through formal and informal member checks (Lincoln and Guba, 1985); asking participants to review, assess and comment on their interviews and upon researcher interpretations. When interpretations are recognized by participants as "adequate representations of their own (and multiple) realities", and these "reconstructions" are honoured, it contributes to "satisfy[ing] the consumer" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:329), that is the reader, of the research report's credibility. Peer debriefing (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Hardy et al., 2001), including "research wise" (Wiles et al., 2006:284) participants, who may have an understanding of the research process, similarly contributes to the credibility of research; by exposing the researcher and her interpretations to critique through "searching questions", where meanings and interpretations can be explored, and opportunities to defend decisions or debate "next steps" can be made. Additional actions within the research design, such as recording and transcribing interviews verbatim, also support claims of credibility and the persuasiveness of research (Duberley et al., 2006; Riessman, 2008).

An account of how I engaged with peer debriefing is offered to highlight how I met the credibility criteria. Through the research process I engaged in writing and delivering conference working papers to seek critique and feedback on my interpretations as these developed. I chose to target three main academic audiences, attending conferences focused upon disability, researching HE and organization studies. These audiences were able to provide me with insights, interpretations and comments upon my research as it developed, which facilitated the development of my understanding and the theorization of my thesis over time (Hibbert et al., 2008). In particular, each time I presented conference papers on the thesis, I received at least one comment from audience members who identified themselves as disabled academics, and who highlighted how the insights I had provided in my presentation resonated with their own experiences. Engaging reflexively with both research participants and academic peers in reflection and debate over my interpretations was an important approach to establishing myself as credible and persuasive (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Hardy et al., 2001) to both my research wise (Wiles et al., 2006) participants and academic peers, contributing to the trustworthiness of this research.

Additional actions taken to address the credibility criteria are summarized in Table 7.5.

Trustworthiness criteria	Evinced through actions taken
Credibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim and passed back to participants for reflection, amendment and comment • Formal member checks of Chapter Five, interpretations and theorizations from participants' narrative career accounts • Informal member checks through ongoing email correspondence discussing research insights • Peer debriefing and debate through delivering working papers on research interpretations and participation in internal (NBS) research conference and external conferences organized by three relevant academic communities: University Forum Human Resource Development, Society for Research in Higher Education, Biennial Disability Studies Conferences. Affirming reflexive comments received at each conference from at least one audience member. Comments upon research insights as resonating with their own experiences were shared, usually during the post presentation discussion • Peer debriefing through debate with research participants in interviews, following member checks and ongoing email correspondence

Table 7.5 Trustworthiness criteria: credibility

7.3.2 Transferability

Lincoln and Guba (1985:316) note transferability, or confirming external validity, “in a strict sense” is not possible for research which theorizes from an understanding of the social world as constructed, contextual, and emergent. It is for the reader to make a judgement on the transferability of research. Research interpretations which have resonance with readers' experiences (Ellis and Bochner, 2000) of the social world enable “deeper insights about their worlds and lives” (Charmaz, 2000:528), transferability can be understood to be enhanced. This can be supported by providing “thick descriptions” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:316), for example rich extracts from research participants' narrative accounts within research reports, for the reader “to make up his or her own mind as to how far the evidence collected in a specific study can be transferred to offer information about the same topic in similar settings” (Elliott, 2005:26).

The pragmatic use of narrative case study research (Riessman, 2008) is in contributing knowledge which focuses in on everyday situations, offering depth rather than breadth of inquiry, drawing attention to narrative detail and highlighting insights from “many-sided, complex, and sometimes conflicting stories” (Flyvberg, 2004:430). Research which makes a “productive difference” is transferable when outcomes offer “more fruitful way[s] of thinking and talking about our shared situation and enhance the capacity to act in it” (Deetz, 2003:427).

This research influenced my practice as a Diversity (Human Resources) Manager in HE, and contributed to practitioner outputs (written whilst I was a part time student and working) on disability related inclusive institutional strategies, policies and procedures. I have contributed to Equality Challenge Unit sector wide publications to promote inclusive practices. Additionally, I have shared research insights in response to requests through the Jiscmail ADMIN-EO list for equality practitioners across the HE sector, with diversity and equality colleagues in HE regionally, and importantly with two participants in this research for their use within their own university and professional work to influence the development of disability related inclusive processes and practices.

Additional actions which contribute to the transferability of this research are noted in Table 7.6.

Trustworthiness criteria	Evinced through actions taken
Transferability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of a narrative case study methodology, focusing in depth and upon the complexity of disabled academics' career experiences • Inclusion of thick descriptions in Chapter Five • Member checks/peer debriefing which asked participants to reflect upon their own and other participants' experiences as interpreted and presented in Chapter Five for resonances, and comment upon my interpretations • Resonance of research insights affirmed through feedback from research wise audience members • Influenced my work as a Diversity Manager in HE as I drew upon my research to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Develop inclusive institutional strategies for all disabled staff ○ Contributed to Equality Challenge Unit publications promoting inclusive practices ○ Shared insights from the research informed strategies and policies across the HE sector via Jiscmail ADMIN_EO list, and to two participants in this research for use in their own university • My university HR department has requested this thesis is converted into a briefing report to contribute to the university disability equality scheme

Table 7.6 Trustworthiness criteria: transferability

7.3.3 Dependability and confirmability

Dependability and confirmability are concerned with providing an "inquiry audit", assessing the "fairness of representation" presented in the research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:317-318). Lincoln and Guba (1985:316) suggest there can be "no credibility without dependability", attesting to the intertwined nature of these two criteria, which places an emphasis upon both the process and the product of audit.

The emphasis in a dependability audit is upon documenting decisions made over the process of data collation and analysis, and for a confirmability audit, the ability to connect the outcome (interpretations and theorization) back to “original sources” (Lynch, 1996:57), through a pragmatic engagement with transparency of methodological decisions and interpretations (Riessman, 2008) emphasizing the adequacy of the research process (Seale, 1999) through providing details of data collection, methods of analysis and interpretation and decision making through the research process (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Outlined here is an account of how I arrived at the research focus upon a narrative inquiry of disabled academics’ career experiences. My arrival at narrative inquiry was emergent, an outcome of my reflexive (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) response to Samuel and Jonathan’s interviews, two of my first three participants, which lead me to reconsider my research focus, and aspects of my methodology. This thesis had begun with an initial focus upon disabled academics’ organizational socialization experiences using a critical incident technique (CIT) interview strategy. My interest was in disabled academics’ experiences as they learnt and responded to the expectations of the academic role in UK university contexts. However, when transcribing and then reflecting upon the early interviews with Samuel and Jonathan, I noted they had they offered me a narrative of their career experiences rather than the three critical incidents I had requested. Jonathan for example, started his interview saying “I could just tell you my story, would that work?”

Acknowledging research as a social (Oliver, 1992), relational (Hosking, 1999) practice which works with participants perspectives, I turned to the narrative literature. I found Riessman’s (2002) account of participants’ production of long stories to short questions as a means of resisting the fragmentation of experience and maintaining control over the meaning of their experiences insightful. I considered that Samuel and Jonathan may similarly be resisting the fragmentation of their experiences, as they produced storied accounts of their experiences (Polkinghorne, 1995), and their responses led me to understanding that a narrative inquiry would offer the opportunity to work with participants’ voices in a way which acknowledged and included their perspectives, allowing their voices to contribute to shaping the thesis (Chase, 2005; Connolly, 2007; Czarniawska, 2004a; Hoskins and Stoltz, 2005).

My response, having reflected upon this with my supervisory team, was to change the focus of my thesis from organizational socialization to career experiences, and for narrative inquiry to shape the methodological approach of the thesis. I moved to the literature on narrative inquiry, and narrative interview techniques and refocusing the thesis upon disabled academics' career experiences. The subsequent interviews generated in-depth and detailed accounts of career experiences, and I felt that the shift in theoretical focus and approach to interviewing had been a positive choice.

The additional actions taken to meet dependability and confirmability criteria are outlined in Table 7.7.

Trustworthiness criteria	Evinced through actions taken
Dependability and confirmability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offering the reader details of the decisions made over the course of the research which detail changes in research focus and methodology, how data was gathered and analyzed and steps taken to meet the trustworthiness criteria across Chapters Four and Seven • Passing back interpretations for member checks and peer debriefing opened the research process and product, as it emerged, to academic scrutiny • Including examples of my analysis in Chapter Four (methodology) and examples of participants' narrative accounts (thick descriptions) in Chapter Five enabling the reader to connect participants experiences with my interpretations and theorization • Including similarities and differences between experiences in Chapter Five to develop interpretations • Including discursive contradictions in Chapter Six to develop interpretations

Table 7.7 Trustworthiness criteria: dependability and confirmability

7.3.4 Authenticity

Seale suggests the later addition of authenticity to Guba and Lincoln's (1989) evaluative framework brings the trustworthiness criteria closer to an appreciation of plurivocality, by "representing a range of different realities" (Seale, 1999:46), which encourages the engagement of research participants in assessing and constructing research interpretations; a move which acknowledges that authenticity is socially constructed (Peterson, 2005). An account of three research wise (Wiles et al., 2006) participants reflexive review of Chapter Five is now offered as an example how authenticity criteria are met, through reflexive engagement and debate to produce plurivocal and polysemic interpretations of career boundaries.

Recognizing research as co-constructed (Chase, 2005; Czarniawska, 2004a; Riessman, 2002), extended my engagement with some research participants beyond the initial interviews into shaping the interpretations which contribute to the insights and contribution of the thesis.

All three participants affirmed my interpretations, adding comments or insights to particular points through the chapter, which I reflected upon and responded to, making changes or commenting on issues raised in Chapter Five. I received positive feedback from Holly for following through on my initial invitation to review my interpretations. Holly commended me on following through by sending my interpretations and engaging in a debate with the reflexive feedback I received in response. I also received affirmation from Sophia and Holly on how I had been sensitive to, and inclusive of participants' voices in my methodological choices. Holly noted in an email correspondence in August 2008

I was very interested in the way you were careful to not impose a framework on your interviewees by asking them structured questions...This is a good way of trying to give 'voice' to your participants.

Sophia in her reflexive follow up interview commented

The fact that this was open allowed you to define your levels, very much so, so you could go in as much or as little or you could... stop at a level that you were comfortable...I think is a really good validation of your methodological choices because it gives the power to the interviewees.

Both Holly and Sophia provided different views on the rhetorical strategy (Alvesson et al., 2008b) I employed to structure the chapter. Holly queried the weaving of participants voices with commentary and analysis, arguing these could be separated out into two chapters suggesting participants' "voices should 'speak for themselves'", whereas Sophia felt the chapter should stand as it is without any changes. I engaged in an email correspondence with Holly and we discussed and debated the issue alongside the philosophical orientation of the thesis. Key concerns for me were the need to outline the narrative accounts in a way which centred disabled academics' voices, whilst also protecting them from identification. Additionally, the chapter reflected a narrative inquiry orientation which acknowledged the research was also my journey (Chase, 2005; Clandinin and Connolly, 2000; Ellis and Bochner, 2000).

I had ensured disabled academics voices were reproduced in detail within the chapter (Roulstone, 1998a), and as I have travelled with (Clandinin and Connolly, 2000) my research participants on my own journey (Ellis and Bochner, 2000) as a becoming (Chia, 1995) disabled researcher my voice forms part of the quilt (Saukko, 2000) of polyphonous and polysemic (Currie and Brown, 2003) voices presented.

Weaving my commentary and analysis through the chapter seemed an appropriate approach within this understanding.

Whilst I accepted Holly's suggestion as reflecting some approaches to rhetorical strategies for some theses, and research wise participants' preferences for specific methods over others (Wiles et al., 2006), I made an authorial choice (Chase, 2005) in privileging Sophia's comments and maintained the rhetorical strategy that I had initially chosen. Having made this decision, I then accounted for it in the introduction of Chapter Five, and have produced this reflection upon this important reflexive moment in my research journey. The authenticity criteria are outlined in Table 7.8.

Trustworthiness criteria	Evinced through actions taken
Authenticity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engaging research participants in assessing my interpretations of their experiences presented in Chapter Five • Emphasizing and developing plurivocal and polysemic clusters of experiences in Chapter Five

Table 7.8 Trustworthiness criteria: authenticity

7.3.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity supports the trustworthiness criteria (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) by encouraging researchers to consider how researchers' values contribute to shaping research outcomes, particularly supporting dependability and confirmability by offering additional insights to key decisions informing the research process. This resonates with what Johnson and Duberley (2003) term methodological and epistemic reflexivity. Methodological reflexivity "critique[s] and evaluat[es]...technical aspects" of a methodology (Johnson and Duberley, 2003; 1284), connects with the steps taken to outline the trustworthiness of research by articulating to the reader the research process and explanations for decisions made as the research process emerged, enabling readers "to follow the path taken" (Riessman, 2008: 195), accounted for across the trustworthiness criteria. Research which acknowledges language (or discourse) as world-making necessarily recognizes its own research rhetoric and texts are world-making, and therefore takes responsibility for their interpretations and the texts they produce (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000; Alvesson et al., 2008b; Baxter, 2003). Reflexivity (Johnson and Duberley, 2003), thus becomes important in this research to take account of the constitutive nature of the analysis, interpretations and (re)presentations of empirical materials (Alvesson et al., 2008b). Epistemic reflexivity (Johnson and Duberley, 2003) therefore draws the researcher to consider how their social location has influenced their research account.

I have accounted in Chapter One for how both my professional and personal context contributed to the rationale for this study, and in Chapter Five for my interpretations and experiences when developing insights on disabled academics' career boundaries. I will account here for how reflexivity is acknowledged to occur over time and the implications of this for this thesis.

When beginning this research journey I described myself as disabled, and was comfortable with my impairments and impairment effects. However the nature of my impairment effects changed significantly over the final eighteen months of writing up the thesis. A muscular skeletal and nerve impairment dramatically increased, leaving me with intense pain and the loss of the use of my right arm for extended periods. Prescription medications ameliorating some of the pain left me with severe memory difficulties, and disrupted my research programme. I required an extensive extension to my PhD duration as I recovered.

In Chapter Five when including my own experiences, I recognized opening oneself to vulnerability (Ellis and Bochner, 2000) as an important element in the research process, particularly when including my own experiences as an appropriate reflexive strategy when attempting to "open up space" for disabled academics through Chapter Five, as a reflexive rhetorical, or textual, strategy (Alvesson et al., 2008b:484). Being able to immerse myself in disabled academics narrative accounts and learn from their different negotiating strategies offered me insights and solace in understanding how my impairments may affect my own career aspirations, which I recognized as an unexpected gain (Vernon, 1997) from the research. However, the marginalizing responses disabled academics received to their impairment effects related requirements contributed to my feeling vulnerable (Ellis and Bochner, 2000) at times, especially to how my changed circumstances may be interpreted by others in my career context.

I have benefitted from a supportive supervisory team, line managers and colleagues who have expressed a desire to co-construct an inclusive response to my changing requirements, and I have felt theoretically comfortable in seeking the legitimacy of working with impairment effects as an organizational concern (Deegan, 2000; Harlan and Robert, 1998) in my interactions and relationships in this career context. However, in writing up this final chapter of the thesis, I recognized that I have struggled with my own experiences of fluctuating impairment effects and bringing these into interactions and relationships within my career context, whilst also theorizing this particular issue.

As Lewis-Beck et al. (2004) argue, the ability to describe does not exceed experience, and reflexivity occurs over time (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Hibbert et al., 2008). Therefore, whilst some reflexive insights may be gained during the interpretative stages of the research, it may be some years before others are surfaced (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003).

I have recognized that I am working through my response to developing new impairment effects, and as I continue to negotiate my career context and continue to theorize disability and ableism, I may gain new insights and understandings of how my own recently changed experiences have contributed to the development of this thesis and to my understanding of researching and theorising disability and ableism in organization studies. Table 7.9 outlines how I have engaged with reflexivity to support the evaluative framework of this thesis.

Trustworthiness criteria	Evinced through actions taken
Reflexivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintained a reflexive journal making notes on myself and the research process • Chapter One accounting for my personal and professional experiences contributing to my interest in researching disabled academics, and Chapter Five and Seven accounting for my own experiences of impairment effects in relation to the research participants and this thesis • Used member checks and peer debriefing for resonance of interpretations and insights developed, including disseminating via academic conferences • Using the research to make a productive difference to my diversity and HR practice, and offering insights from the thesis to my current university's disability equality activities • Stayed in touch with some participants, with ongoing emails, telephone calls and meetings, discussing and debating disability and organization studies research, and organizing inclusively • Engaged with academic conference audiences, contributing to the developing thesis through critique and insightful comments upon interpretations presented

Table 7.9 Trustworthiness criteria: reflexivity

7.3.6 Ethics

Narrative research is essentially relational (Josselson, 2007; Clandinin, 2007), and as such tied closely to ethical considerations. Josselson (2007) suggests narrative research should address three key areas, free and informed consent to participate, confidentiality and prevention from harm. This section considers how this thesis meets these criteria, before which two accounts of my responses to ethical issues are addressed.

Whilst I do draw heavily from participants' narrative accounts to illuminate their experiences in Chapter Five, I do so with care, only using as much of the text as is necessary to clarify the point being made. When the chapter was reflexively reviewed one participant requested cuts were made and specific quotations removed, which I did.

I additionally respected one participant who having offered a wonderful insight into an experience, responded to my request for additional details during the probing stage of the interview that I could not reference it in my thesis. Any detail of the experience might risk their anonymity, as the experience had been shared with others as part of their career narrative in different contexts in the HE sector.

These anonymity practices were in recognition that disabled academics could be traced through the combined collation of information on impairment type, assistive technology type, academic discipline and movement between types of universities or organizations, affirmed through discussions with Holly and Sophia. I acknowledged that whilst anonymity is important for many research participants there are additional concerns when researching researchers or academics. For example my research outputs may reasonably be expected to be read by other academics or researchers who may recognize small details or patterns and as such identify participants. Whilst I had collated information on impairment type, whether impairments were congenital or acquired, and participants' disciplines I did not use these in the thesis following a discussion with Holly and Sophia. The emergent nature of ethical issues in this thesis reflects a recognition that ethical research should involve being prepared to monitor initial plans as the research progresses and be prepared to adapt such plans where necessary (Clark, 2006).

The presentation strategy developed for Chapter Five avoided offering a chronological or full account of disabled academics narrative accounts which may have contributed to compromising participants' anonymity. Such a presentation strategy is not unusual in research drawing upon narrative accounts and what might be considered sensitive issues (Blumenreich, 2004), or within disability studies research (for example Watson, 1998). Additional actions which addressed ethical issues are included in Table 7.10.

Trustworthiness criteria	Evinced through actions taken
Ethics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free and informed consent was achieved by providing participants with details of the study, adopted voluntary process for involvement, including offering opportunities to withdraw • Anonymity addressed by; using pseudonyms to anonymize all documents relating to participants, withholding biographical and some career details from thesis, offering participants opportunity to comment on Chapter Five quotations from their narrative accounts • Ensured no harm to participants by meeting all relevant University ethical standards, and the non-intrusive interview style developed, amended presentation of interpretations of experiences in Chapter Five as requested • Accounting for the change in focus of the research and methods in Chapter Seven. Withdrew Susan after lost touch and was unable to confirm she was happy with shift in focus of thesis

Table 7.10 Trustworthiness criteria: ethics

The chapter will now consider two issues relevant to the reflexive review of limitations to this thesis beyond the limitations upon the theoretical scope of the thesis outlined in Chapter One.

7.4 Reflexivity and limitations of the thesis

7.4.1 Narrative truth

The narrative inquiry strategy this thesis draws upon may be open to charges of distortion and contingent meaning construction as participants revise past experiences and meanings in light of current experiences. However, it is argued that narrative accounts being open to revision in light of new experiences does not negate the truth value of the insights developed (Ellis and Bochner, 2000). What narrative research achieves in dealing with the stories “used to describe human action” (Polkinghorne, 1995:5) is to theorize and generalize from interpretations of the truth and meanings of people’s lives (Bochner, 2001). As Deetz (2003:423) notes “All knowledge and understanding is created out of the specific instruments, procedures, institutions...available at a point in time, and these themselves arise out of earlier ones.” Knowledge production is thus understood to be historically situated, constructed and relational (Deetz, 2000; Hosking, 1999). This reflects the becoming ontology informing this thesis, which refutes that “there is no single truth” (Guba and Lincoln, 2005:212) out there, and the desire and the possibility of achieving a final closed state (Chia, 1995; Watson, 2001), socially or within research. This understanding reflects the philosophical orientation of the thesis towards appreciating research participants’ truths are co-constructed (Deetz, 2003; Hosking, 1999) partial accounts (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Riessman, 2008; Saukko, 2000) and acknowledges that “whatever the particular description of organizing, other descriptions always will be possible” (Hosking and Fineman, 1990:584).

7.4.2 Relativism

Working from a position that the truths participants share are always partial, incomplete and contextually produced (Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Riessman, 2008; Saukko, 2000) acknowledges knowledge production is subject to “construction and negotiation” (Kendall and Wickham, 1999:101) and raises a question of how knowledge claims can be assessed.

Deetz (2000:733) suggests all knowledge claims are relational, operating within and assessed by their communities, arguing acknowledging truth as such “does not make scientific activity or results subjective or relative in any ordinary use of those terms”. Rather, as Rorty (1991:202), argues “we have to work out from the networks we are, from the communities with which we currently identify”, which for Reed (1993:176) means “practice, tradition and narrative” has some relevance in assessing the interpretations and theoretical insights of research.

Working from an appreciation of organization theory as a practice, Reed suggests three elements of “practice, tradition and narrative” avoids a “Hobson’s choice between foundationalism and relativism” (Reed, 1993:177). These elements are:

- “an intellectual practice which necessarily involves its participants in social established cooperative activity”
- “a tradition of historically generated norms, rules and conventions and standards of excellence through which the practice can be subjected to critical evaluation and transformation over time”
- “a narrative structure and context through which we make sense of and give meaning to ‘our’ participation within the practices and traditions which provide the substantive and critical resources that allow us to engage in ‘organizational analysis’” (Reed, 1993:177)

Recognizing these elements “provides for a negotiated and dynamic set of standards” and debate between different perspectives in organization studies (Reed, 1993:177), whilst these elements are also recognized to be historically situated and constructed (Kendall and Wickham, 1999). This offers an approach to assessing the standard of research and knowledge claims within an academic community (Reed, 1993) enabling a judgement of the acceptability of research to be made.

Acknowledging knowledge is constructed, relational (Deetz, 2000; Hosking, 1999), the partiality of knowledge claims and not seeking a “detachment” (Rorty, 1991:30) from one’s context or community, contributes to a defence against claims of relativism as it is within these criteria that truth claims are made. Engaging with my academic community, I have acknowledged that it is the judgement of “professional[s] and practitioner[s]” (Guba and Lincoln, 2005:207) of the constructions presented in this thesis who assess the acceptability of the thesis’ knowledge claims; here “research wise” (Wiles et al., 2006: 284) participants, conference audiences and thesis examiners and readers.

Engaging “research wise” (Wiles et al., 2006) participants in reflexive processes affirmed resonance (Charmaz, 2000; Ellis and Bochner, 2000) both between participants’ career experiences, and of my interpretations of their experiences, which were affirmed through peer-debriefing (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Hardy et al., 2001; Reed, 1993; Rorty, 1991). Additionally, engagement with relevant evaluative criteria, reflexively making visible my own context and opening knowledge claims to scrutiny, as far as these are feasible, (Alvesson et al., 2008b) further contributes to addressing relativism.

The chapter now turns to consider how this thesis can inform future research projects.

7.5 Future research projects

This thesis has outlined insights into career boundaries and discourses shaping disabled academics’ careers through the explication of a disability studies lens, contributing disability and ableism as productive categories for analysis to studies of organization. The disability studies lens may be taken forward as a theoretical lens to further evaluate its theoretical potential for organization studies through explication and fusing with theories in other sub-disciplines, or the epistemological project, in organization studies to extend and evaluate the insights offered in this thesis. Of interest to this thesis is the potential of a disability studies lens to be developed through studies of professional groups, as Baruch and Hall (2004b) suggest aspects of academic careers and corporate careers are converging and the boundaryless career concept may therefore enable insights into a range of career contexts. A disability studies lens offers the potential to explore disabled professionals’ experiences of career boundaries across a range of sectors. Further to this, a disability studies theoretical lens has recently been acknowledged as offering potential insights to organization studies. Woodhams et al.’s (2010) call for papers on management theorizing included “Disability, management and organization” and “disability studies” as a “broader social theory”, which highlighted the lens could further contribute to theoretical developments in organization studies. This interest suggests this thesis is timely in developing a disability studies lens for organization studies. This thesis’ disability studies lens will be developed in response to Woodhams’ (2010) positive response to the suggestion that this thesis could be converted into a paper in response to this call.

One outcome of this research has been to provide insights into the increased complexity of negotiating HE contexts for disabled academics and those they are in relation with (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998) to construct inclusive organizing processes and practices.

Further collaborative research which brings together disabled academics, manager-academics and colleagues to explore inclusive approaches to developing HE academic career contexts may be a fruitful and productive (Alvesson et al., 2008b; Deetz, 2003) way to take forward this concern.

As Chouinard (1999) notes, it is central to the development of inclusive work contexts to engage colleagues in understanding the difference disability and ableism makes for disabled academics. A discursive approach to exploring generative conversations which support the exploration of shared and competing values (Winter, 2009) may contribute to such an endeavour. Such research could take forward the approach developed for this thesis which understands people as “double edged”, both capable of constructing through narrative, and constructed through discourse (Saukko, 2000:300).

This would enable a consideration of experiences of, and the wider social discourses contributing to, HE organizing contexts. I aim to convert this interest into an application to the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) First Grants Scheme to extend the insights generated by Deem's (2005) ESRC funded study of 'New Managerialism and the Management of UK Universities' which has contributed much of the literature on the complexity of the HE organizing context, yet which did not address the complexities constructed through responding to impairment effects related ways of organizing.

Disabled academics' recognized a dissonance between the individual interpretation and social interpretation discourses in perceptions of and responses to disabled staff and students, respectively, in their organizing contexts (Deem et al., 2005; Farish et al., 1995). This thesis highlighted a recognition that HE is dialogic (Trowler, 2001), where academic contexts reflect both external conditions and internal operations and a “multiplicity of discourses with plurivocal meanings” (Trowler, 2001:183). Research which explores the dissonance in discourses informing perceptions of and responses to disabled staff and students within HE may further contribute to understanding the discursive construction of disability and ableism in organizing contexts.

In Section 2.4 I outlined a rationale for the development of paradigmatic divergence in disability studies which would move away from the dominance of a materialist informed social model to a social interpretation which might draw upon “diverse paradigmatic representations” (Gabel and Peters, 2004:586). Through the development of this thesis I have reflected upon my own journey from a strong adherence to the social model to the social interpretation developed for the thesis' disability studies lens.

Whilst at first I experienced a deep sense of disquiet at this paradigmatic shift, as the thesis progressed I found my theoretical comfort grew as the methodological approach developed and its contribution of the thesis emerged.

Focusing upon disabled academics' experiences and accounting for how they construct through narrative and are constructed through discourse (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997; Saukko, 2000), the thesis maintains disabled academics' voices, a central concern in disability studies research (Roulstone, 1998a). I am now comfortable that rather than a detraction, the thesis complements social model research foci, and enriches insights into the study of disabled academics' experiences in organization studies by developing a disability studies lens and a range of future research projects as a fruitful and productive way to make a difference to the research (Alvesson et al., 2008b; Deetz, 2003) of disabled people's experiences in organization studies.

Whilst this is an organization studies thesis, as a practitioner and researcher with a commitment to making a positive contribution to the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of disability and impairment effects related ways of organizing, I intend to further develop the inter-disciplinary potential of disability studies and organization studies to extend the insights generated by this thesis.

7.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the central argument of this thesis, reflecting upon the research objectives and how these have made contributions to organization studies. The chapter considered two reflexive moments which contributed to the theoretical focus and methodological orientation of the thesis. Consideration was given to some of the possible limitations of the thesis, and the chapter concluded by identifying a number of future research projects which take forward the insights generated through this thesis.

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Appendices

Appendix A Interview prompt sheet for participants

Appendix B Interview prompt sheet for researcher

Appendix A

Interview prompt sheet for participants

Disabled academics' experiences of career and organization: Jannine Williams

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for my research into disabled academics' experiences of career and organization.

I have a consent form which outlines the research, your rights and my responsibilities regarding the information you share with me today. May I ask you to read it and if you agree, sign one copy, keeping the second for your information?

I would like to highlight a few key points from the consent form:

- Information obtained in this study, including this consent form, will not be passed to others and will be anonymous (i.e. individuals and organizations will not be identified).
- Data obtained through this research may be reproduced and published in a variety of forms and for a variety of audiences related to the broad nature of the research detailed above. It will not be used for purposes other than those outlined without your permission.
- Participation is entirely voluntary and participants may withdraw at any time.

In addition I am taking extensive steps in securely storing personal information and to ensure participants cannot be recognized. All interview records are stored electronically and in paper form with a pseudonym. Email and other records with personal information are stored in a secure locker in the Business School.

I'm aiming to use a narrative approach in the interview, so I'll only ask you a few questions, and make brief notes. I may ask for additional information or clarity at the end of the interview on issues you raise.

At a future point may I seek your views on my interpretation of participants' experiences? This would involve you reading and commenting upon my interpretations of issues raised in anonymized interviews. I am carrying out a similar exercise with two other PhD students in the Business School using the same form of data analysis as this study.

My two main questions are:

Questions:

1. Could I ask you to reflect back upon your career, and tell me how you came to be here? Tell me about the experiences and events that were important to you, and please begin wherever you want to begin.
2. Would you tell me what it is like to be here? Again I'm interested in the experiences and events that are important to you about being in this organization.

I'm interested in your experiences. So, just to clarify how I hope the interview will go ahead; I'm going to ask you a small number of key questions, and I aim not to interrupt you. I'll take a few notes, and afterwards ask you some follow up questions. After the interview, I'd like to ask you some broad questions about your work and the nature of your impairment/s.

Questions:

1. Could I ask you to reflect back upon your career, and tell me how you came to be here? Tell me about the experiences and events that were important to you, and please begin wherever you want to begin.
2. Would you tell me what it is like to be here? Again I'm interested in the experiences and events that are important to you about being in this organization.
3. Would you tell me if you have ever declared your impairment/s to an employer and if so what happened? If not why not?
4. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about?

I'd like to ask you some broad questions about the nature of your impairment/s and your work.

The UCAS coding for disability notes broad categories. Which would you say best describe your impairment/s?

- 1 Specific learning difficulty (e.g. dyslexia)
- 2 Blind or partially sighted
- 3 Deaf or hard of hearing
- 4 Wheelchair/mobility difficulties
- 5 Autistic spectrum disorder or Asperger's syndrome
- 6 Mental health difficulties
- 7 Disability that cannot be seen, e.g. diabetes, epilepsy or a heart condition
- 8 Two or more of the above
- 9 Disability, special need or medical condition that is not listed above

Are your impairment/s congenital or acquired?

- Congenital
- Acquired

Which of these broad academic categories would you say your discipline fell into?

- Humanities
- Medical and Human Sciences

Appendix B

Interview prompt sheet for researcher

Disabled academics' experiences of career and organization: Jannine Williams

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for my research in to disabled academics' experiences of career and organization.

I have a consent form which outlines the research, your rights and my responsibilities regarding the information you share with me today. May I ask you to read it and if you agree, sign one copy, keeping the second for your information?

I would like to highlight a few key points from the consent form:

- Information obtained in this study, including this consent form, will not be passed to others and will be anonymous (i.e. individuals and organizations will not be identified).
- Data obtained through this research may be reproduced and published in a variety of forms and for a variety of audiences related to the broad nature of the research detailed above. It will not be used for purposes other than those outlined without your permission.
- Participation is entirely voluntary and participants may withdraw at any time.

In addition I am taking extensive steps in securely storing personal information and to ensure participants cannot be recognized. All interview records are stored electronically and in paper form with a pseudonym. Email and other records with personal information are stored in a secure locker in the Business School.

I'm aiming to use a narrative approach in the interview, so I'll only ask you a few questions, and make brief notes. I may ask for additional information or clarity at the end of the interview on issues you raise.

At a future point may I seek your views on my interpretation of participants' experiences? This would involve you reading and commenting upon my interpretations of issues raised in anonymized interviews. I am carrying out a similar exercise with two other PhD students in the Business School using the same form of data analysis as this study.

My two main questions are:

Questions:

1. Could I ask you to reflect back upon your career, and tell me how you came to be here? Tell me about the experiences and events that were important to you, and please begin wherever you want to begin.
2. Would you tell me what it is like to be here? Again I'm interested in the experiences and events that are important to you about being in this organization.

I'm interested in your experiences. So, just to clarify how I hope the interview will go ahead; I'm going to ask you a small number of key questions, and I aim not to interrupt you. I'll take a few notes, and afterwards ask you some follow up questions. After the interview, I'd like to ask you some broad questions about your work and the nature of your impairment/s.

Questions:

1. Could I ask you to reflect back upon your career, and tell me how you came to be here? Tell me about the experiences and events that were important to you, and please begin wherever you want to begin.
2. Would you tell me what it is like to be here? Again I'm interested in the experiences and events that are important to you about being in this organization.
3. Would you tell me if you have ever declared your impairment/s to an employer and if so what happened? If not why not?
4. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about?

Possible prompts:

- What happened then?
- "Are there any other things you remember happening?"
- "Does it make you think of anything else that has happened?"
- "Are you thinking about something else that happened?"
- You mentioned.....what lead up to that... what happened next... what was the outcome of...
- 'And then what happened' or
- 'What do you mean?'

I'd like to ask you some broad questions about the nature of your impairment/s and your work.

The UCAS coding for disability notes broad categories. Which would you say best describe your impairment/s?

- 1 Specific learning difficulty (e.g. dyslexia)
- 2 Blind or partially sighted
- 3 Deaf or hard of hearing
- 4 Wheelchair/mobility difficulties
- 5 Autistic spectrum disorder or Asperger's syndrome
- 6 Mental health difficulties
- 7 Disability that cannot be seen, e.g. diabetes, epilepsy or a heart condition
- 8 Two or more of the above
- 9 Disability, special need or medical condition that is not listed above

Are your impairment/s congenital or acquired?

- Congenital
- Acquired

Which of these broad academic categories would you say your discipline fell into?

- Humanities
- Medical and Human Sciences